# THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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# THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

BY

DORIS STONE

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# FOREWORD

121 THESE pages present the life of two indigenous
groups, the Cabécares and the
101 Bribri, who number among the first-known
inhabitants of Costa Rican soil. They are
[177] people in varied stages of acculturation, but
many are now taking part in the national
environment and life of the republic.

115 There are numerous informants who helped with the gathering of details which have contributed to the making of this book. Among these were two young teachers, Teofilo Mayorga, a Cabécar from Ujarrás, and Gabriel Figueroa, a Bribri from Salitre. Both took down the linguistic texts in phonetics and aided in the literal translations. Saturnino Ortiz and Marcos Ortiz, also from Salitre, and Herman Villanueva of China Kichá supplied much important data.

There were two medicine men whose aid was invaluable, Telesforo Figueroa, Bribri, and Victor Challe, Cabécar, and the late Bribri Burier, Jaime Ortiz.

To these, to Roger Thayer Stone, and to the countless others who cooperated in the preparation of this text, among whom figure Agnes Gamboa, Francisco Amighetti, and Naomi Stratton, the author renders profound gratitude.

Doris Stone

*San José, Costa Rica, 1960*

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### THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

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[P. 3(A)]
[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

## GEOGRAPHY

131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The southern littoral of this section is formed by the
131 133 plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few
131 133 487 difficult passes across these mountains: a trail from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of

[Text continues top of p. 3(B) - Analyst]

## HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

175 103 [101] [35] **Regional Terminology.** The word Talamanca is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his own birthplace.[2] The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)[3] but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-

[Text continues bottom of p. 3(B) - Analyst]

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[115] [1] The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cabécar and the Talamanca Valley.

[2] *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

## *GEOGRAPHY*

131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
133 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is
487 limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

**Flora.** For about 1,800 meters above the plain
137 of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible
fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found.
Inland, behind this zone and extending over
the continental divide, is an area of cloud
forests broken only by small patches of paramo
on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
[133] country with the south side being steeper than
that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vege-
tation consists chiefly of hard woods such as
oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Qui-
zarrá (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of
*Chinchona pubesens*.[1]

On the Pacific slope of the range there is
no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most
eastern passes, however, from approximately
[133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to
the two important upland valleys of southeast-
ern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero
Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain
extent evidences of cultivation in the remote
past. The principal grass genera in this area
are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

## *HISTORICAL ORIENTATION*

175 ports concerning this region are contained in
103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz
and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in
1540. The name of the valley was derived from
that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican
extraction, who had gained control before the
Spanish arrival,[4] and was a bitter enemy of
103 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or
Cariaca.[5] The place name, Coaça, continued

[Text continues top of P. 5(A)--Analyst]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149-50, 213-14.

[3] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293-317.

[4] Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236-323; Lothrop, 1944; Stone, 1956.

[5] *See* Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

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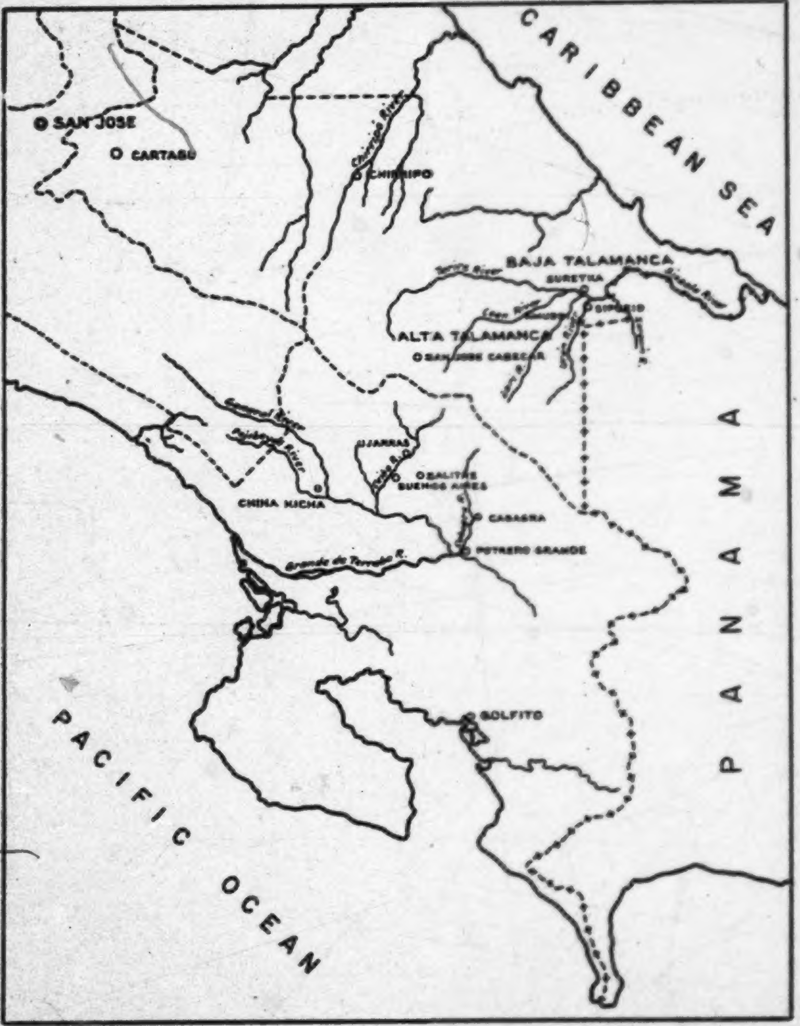
CARIBBEAN SEA
SAN JOSE
CARTAGO
CHIRRIPO
Chirripó River
BAJA TALAMANCA
SURETKA
SIPURIO
ALTA TALAMANCA
SAN JOSE CABECAR
General River
Pejibaye River
UJARRAS
SALITRE
BUENOS AIRES
CABAGRA
CHINA KICHA
POTRERO GRANDE
Grande de Terraba R.
GOLFITO
PANAMA
PACIFIC OCEAN

FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribri and Cabécar Indians.

[P.5(A)]

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.[6] It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.[7]

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: ". . . they call a town and also a province a [614] kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."[8] Without realizing it, Dávila had [114] noticed the clan system (*see* Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*).

635
103 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.[9] As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante[10] to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaça.[11] Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.[12]
103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.[13]

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

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[6] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293–94.

[7] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126–28. The name Sixaola (Black River, *see*, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

[8] Peralta, 1883, p. 71, ". . . una parentela de padres é hijos é nietos llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

[9] Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

[12] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

[192] [13] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193–94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ará*, however, is "a little child."

131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

> . . . in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua. . . .[14]

[103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131
635 However, in 1605 there were two more provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.[15] It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.[16] Pococi extended to Suerre,[17] the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,[18] and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.[19]

[103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. [175] From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.[20] [633] Most of the thirteen towns belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.[21]

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[14] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. ". . . en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río *Tarire*, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de *Tariaca*, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el *Escudo de Veragua*, ques es el termino que parte esta governación de la de *Veragua*. . . ."

[15] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

[16] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

[17] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

[18] González Viquez, 1935, pp. 9–39.

[19] Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

[20] Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

[21] Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

101 **Peoples:** *Names and Location.* Such complicated terminology with respect to geographical extensions leaves little hope for too clear a presentation of the inhabitants of this area. [635] The ancient provinces of Duy and Guaymí included the northwestern section of Panama which was in part the home of the Térraba Indians. These people will be treated only in connection with history and tradition in this study in spite of the fact that in historic times there was a small group on the Zorquín River.[22] In the actual report, we use the term Talamanca as an all-inclusive word for the Bribri and the Cabécares. There are between [162] two and three thousand of these people on the Caribbean side, and approximately 1,595 on the Pacific.

**Panamanian Border to the Coen River.** Many names are listed in the documents pertaining to the area from the Panamanian border to the Coen River in Costa Rica. Among these, the commonest are: Ara, Ateo, Abicetaba, Blancos, Biceitas or Viceitas, Korrhué, Ucabarúa, and Valientes. To be sure, most of these terms are spelled in various ways according to the period and the author. These peoples were found between the Urén, Lari, and Coen rivers and in the plain of the Tiliri or Sixaola River, at least as far as Punta Cahuita.[23]

This entire group seems to have been closely related although they were not all one original people.[24] Collectively, they were the first to be known as Talamancas in the early 17th century, and today are called by this name or by that of Bribri.[25] It is interesting to examine these ancient designations because certain ones are associated with peoples now extinct, while others have a definite inference in modern terminology.

The groups that have now disappeared are

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[103] [22] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 218. This is also a Mosquitia name. The Bribri term is Choli.

[23] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. We do not include here the Sicuas or Zeguas who were also found on the north coast. They were known to be of Mexican extraction. For an account of these people *see* Lothrop, 1944.

[24] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 219–20.

[25] *See*, e.g., the reports of the Franciscan fathers toward the end of the 17th century. The distinction is clearly made between Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas. *See* Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 369–74.

[P.6(B)]

101 the Ateo, Korrhué, and Ucabarúa. The Korrhué, however, seem to have been originally a Cabécar clan conquered by the Bribri.[26] The
[103] name Ara or Arari still signifies in Bribri the upper Lari River, and in a certain sense can mean the inhabitants of this region although as a name it is not applied to the people.[27] Here a settlement known as Bribri is located. The term Biceita or Viceita seems to have its source in that of the Abicetaba who were a Bribri clan[28] and, even though not used in 1959, is understood in Costa Rica as the Bribri. Blancos and Valientes were loose terms as Gabb has correctly shown. Blancos sometimes included the peoples on the western side of the Coen, while Valientes more correctly was applicable to the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Chiriqui Lagoon or Almirante Bay.[29]

Bribri is unknown in the early documentation, but as Pittier points out, the word is derived from *dẹri-dẹri* which he states means "brave" or "strong." [30] In 1959, the Bribri still insist that their name comes from *dererri* meaning "strong" or "hard" and that "brave" is *ęnsú*. Lehmann[31] notes that during the years 1590–93 the terms *Vrivri* and *Taquetaque* signified to the Guetar of Cuquerrique (Tuquerrique) "Lords and sons of lords." When we remember the tradition that the Bribri conquered at least the Cabécares (*see* Non-Documental History), there is ample reason for these statements.

**Western Bank of the Coen River to the Reventazón.** On the western bank of the Coen River and continuing through the Tarire to the Reventazón rivers were many names, including the Cavécaras (Cabécares), Urinamás, Siruros, Moyaguas, and Chirripó, with a people called Estrella in the coastal area.[32] The only ones of this group, with the possible exception of

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[26] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[27] In the Bribri tongue, *ara* means "you." *ará* means "a child."

[28] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219.

[29] Gabb, 1875, p. 487.

[30] Pittier, 1898, p. 16.

[31] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 219. It should be remembered that Spanish is a phonetic language and even today *v* and *b* are by mistake used interchangeably. In colonial times they were confused more frequently. *See also* Fernández, 1907, vol. VII, p. 392.

[32] Thiel, 1896–98, p. 47. For a more detailed list *see* Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 221.

101 Moyaguas of whom nothing is known, who do not seem to be Cabécares are the Urinamás, although as early as 1709 they spoke the Cabécar tongue.[33] Pittier and Lehmann associate them with the Bribri although it is difficult to understand the reason for such classification.[34] The Urinamás are always named in the documents referring to the 17th and 18th centuries as distinct from the Cavécaras (Cabécares) and Talamancas.[35] Cabécar is used today for the group west of the Coen River although Talamanca is also an all-inclusive term to cover both the eastern and the western peoples. The Chirripó are a Cabécar branch and are found in the mountains and valley of that name. There are a few families in the upper Estrella Valley who are related to the Cabécares.

There is relatively little mention in the source material of the significance of the term Cabécar. According to the actual Indians, the name comes from *kabé* (quetzal) and *ká*
[136] (place). There are quetzals in the high mountain country but not in Cabécar itself which
[133] has an altitude of only 400 meters. It is interesting that these people eat quetzal whenever
[262] they have a chance.

175 **Non-Documental History of Talamanca.** As Gabb has pointed out, it is difficult to gather information regarding the history of these tribes.[36] From the Spanish accounts available, we find that upon their arrival there was a Mexican group which dominated the Sixaola or Talamanca Valley, and that the Franciscan
[797] fathers in particular noted the linguistic differences in certain regions. There is no colonial
174 documentation which cites the aboriginal conquests and we are forced to accept traditions and what we can glimpse through the customs of the existent peoples to indicate at least some of the remote happenings.

One of these events appears to have been the conquest of the Cabécares by the Bribri with the result that the secular head of both groups had to be Bribri, but the intellectual leaders

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[33] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 458.

[34] Pittier, 1898, p. 16; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 216, 219; Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 385, 445–46, 460.

[35] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 381, 389.

[36] Gabb, 1875, pp. 487–88.

[101] [37] Gabb, 1875, p. 488. The Tiribis are the same people as the actual Térrabas whose homeland is the

174 [721] continued to be Cabécar. Gabb[37] was the first to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of [643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 [642] At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government."[39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor 643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went 648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and [361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root)[42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

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[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[38] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.

[39] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.

[40] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.

[41] Stone, 1949.

[42] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

101 361 [162] The two Bribri groups are to be found at Cabagra[43] and Salitre (*ǯerí*) and amount to approximately 895 people. Cabagra lies near the pass to the upper Lari beside a river bearing its name which is an important tributary of the Diquís. It is about four leagues from Potrero Grande. The exact date of the arrival [174] of Bribri here is not known although it was probably at the end of the 19th century as many of the older inhabitants were born on the Lari and Urén rivers. One tradition holds 173 166 [614] that certain families fled across the Talamanca Range because they had not adhered to clan regulations in marriage. It is perhaps of significance that very few clans form the groups in both places, and that as people, they are the first to divert from ancient tribal customs. Another popular belief is that Berchi, a king of Talamanca, caused numerous people to flee because of his extreme cruelty (*see* Folklore: *Recent History*). Some inhabitants of Cabagra moved westward to Salitre. Gradually, both places have grown as a result of the arrival of other families from the northeast as well as an increased birth rate.

At the end of the pass from the upper Coen is Ujarrás of the Cabécares which was settled for a similar reason at the same general time. [582] It is said that "the King of Talamanca prohibited marriage between brothers[44] and one couple who had disobeyed the rules fled and went to Ujarrás." Others followed to the ex-

[Text continues top of p. 8(B)--Analyst]

### LANGUAGE

197 **Connections and Previous Studies.** The majority of linguists connect both the Bribri and the Cabécar tongues with Chibcha.[45] However, they are sufficiently removed from one another that they are not mutually interchangeable. The intellectually more advanced, but at [191] the same time conquered, Cabécares generally understand and speak Bribri with exception of

[Text continues bottom of P. 8(B)]--Analyst]

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[103] [797] [43] This name has no meaning in any existing tongue. The site should not be confused with N.S. de la Luz de Cabagra which was founded in 1745 by the Franciscan fathers and settled with Térraba Indians two leagues from San Francisco de Térraba. Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 504.

[44] It should be remembered that these people are organized on the basis of matrilineal clans. (*See* Social

[P.8(B)]

173 tent that this small valley could not support
166 the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China
Kichá and there were joined by more people
from Talamanca. We estimate that there are
[162] about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás
and China Kichá.

101 **Other Sites.** There is a relatively strong per-
144 centage of Talamancan blood remaining in the
people of the Reventazón Valley, but there
are none of the Talamancan living habits left.
Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and
Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares
648 from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central
167 Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and
101 Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial
government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in
Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri rela-
tionships.[46] The presence of this blood in these
areas is due to the transferral of many Tala-
[669] mancans by the government of Costa Rica as
penalty for four uprisings, the first three be-
tween 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709,
which resulted in the destruction of the Fran-
[797] ciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish
men and women.[47] In these sections of dis-
[177] placed peoples, acculturation has been trium-
phant and there is next to nothing to suggest
the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants
of these places beyond the ordinary character-
istics of the mestizo.

## *LANGUAGE*

197 the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have
little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri,
[191] however, do the same with Cabécar. In this
respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out
that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when
dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths
[533] is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on
the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri
[784]

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Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886; vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

[P. 9 (A)]

184
197 in Térraba (Tiribi), a custom pointing to the former contact in times long past between the [533] two groups. It is common for a singer not to understand the words that he is singing, giving as an excuse that they are from "the grandfathers" in "their old language." This is the outstanding characteristic of the Bribri. From pre-Columbian times, he appears to have been a culture borrower and he certainly is today. This is particularly true with respect to nonmaterial culture and is not only noted in many of their songs and religious manifestations but [535] also in their dances (*see* Dances), especially on the Pacific slope.

114 The most complete studies of the Bribri tongue have been made by Pittier and Lehmann.[49] [197] Schuller, of course, includes all Costa Rican languages in his Maya-Carib-Arawak complex.[50] With reference to the Cabécar speech, outside of Lehmann, Gabb and Thiel are the only sources to produce more than a passing vocabulary.[51]

212 **Linguistic Symbols.** Throughout this study, indigenous terms are written in symbols which 104 are used by the Cabécares and Bribri in their schools when writing their mother tongue. They are based on a study made by Ricardo Pozas of the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Mexico* and checked by Dr. Mark Hanna Watkins who was lent to the Costa Rica government by the *Instituto Indigenista Nacional of Guatemala* for this express purpose. It is the alphabet actually in use in the Indian schools in Costa Rica. Except for certain distinct symbols, the majority are those found in the international phonetic alphabet.[52]

[194] The greater portion of the following explanation is a free translation of the key to the symbols used in the Cabécar primer[53] (*ǯis mą išə*) written by Ricardo Pozas Arciniéga.

194 ə is a central vowel which is pronounced as the vowel in the word "but" in English. This vowel varies up to a high front position, and is frequently substituted by the vowel *u* in many words.

*ą, ę, į, ǫ, ų*, nasalized vowels.

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[49] Pittier, 1898; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1.

[50] Schuller, 1928.

[51] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1; Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884

[p.9(B)]

194 ǯ, affricative consonant, is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate in the same position one uses to pronounce the Spanish *ch*. It differs from this consonant in that when one pronounces *ch* the vocal chords vibrate. In the case of ǯ, one can say that it is a voice consonant, that is, one produced by vibration of the vocal chords.

*L* is a difficult consonant for one who does not speak Cabécar (or Bribri). It is articulated with the tip of the tongue a little behind the alveolar ridge in the same position used to pronounce *l* in Spanish, but when the air passes through the lips, the tongue is moved sideways producing a vibration which makes the sound similar to an *r*. The Tarascan Indians of Mexico have a like consonant. [197]

*j* is palatal and fricative.

*r*, like that in Spanish, varies from a touch of the tongue on the palate to a series of three or four touches. In other words, it is equivalant to the simple *r*, as in the Spanish *caro;* the double or rolled *r*, as in the Spanish *mar* or *carreta.*

*ts* is a digraph which represents a single sound, as in the case of *ch.*

*š* is an affricative consonant which is articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the palate as the air leaves passing through a canal formed in the tongue. When this sound is pronounced, the vocal cords do not vibrate. It is similar to the English *sh.*

The Cabécar language (and that of the Bribri) has changes in tonal levels within the syllables. There are two pitches: high and low. For orthographical purposes, we accent only the high pitch. The syllables which are not accented are low pitch. This accent is important because in many cases the change in pitch produces a change in the meaning of the word. For example: [192]

high pitch: *dú* (mud); *dəwé* (guan [crested], *Penelope purpurascens* Wagl); *jawá* (medicine man)
low pitch: *du* (bird); *dəwe* (sickness); *jawa* (otter)

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(not 1882 as Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 187 indicates), 1896.

[22] *See* Pike, 1947, vol. III, p. 232.

[23] Pozas, N.D.

[P. 10 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner[56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel[58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take
[101] into consideration the two geographically dis-
[177] tinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

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131 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged.
489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In
491 most of the region, bridges are non-existent and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

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177
648 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since conquest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

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[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

[P. 10(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

## MANNER OF LIVING

101 177 648 [166] Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one German had lived in this area. The United Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the valley for banana planting. With the advent of the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

[131] [871] The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land. Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

177 184 101 The difference in geography, climate, and neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for distinctions in beliefs and living habits between one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

177 **Acculturation.** As can be imagined, there are

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[67] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[68] Thiel, 1927.
[69] Polakowsky, 1883.

[P. 11(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

621 **Villages.** Villages in the European sense of 192 the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood [177] because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *koŋ̣* (place or extension) *bLuburu* (much or great). Town is termed *koŋ̣* or *ką́* (*ką́* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kəbi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the con- [721] quest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *buǯiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *ǯiga* (many), and town by *ką* meaning 621 "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the 361 sense of "our home."

When discussing this, the statement of Joan

[Text continues top of p. 11(B)--Analyst]

## SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection [231] against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

[Text continues bottom of p. 11(B)--Analyst]

[P.11(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

## *SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES*

241 [412] [824] The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*)[f] and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

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[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

[f] [See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

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241 Women formerly felled trees and did as
much field labor as the men. Today, however,
462 women do not clear the forest although they
[178] do cut the weeds and grass. On both sides of
the range, men and women work in the fields
and harvest crops.

262 **Cultivated Crops.** The basic diet of these
241 peoples consists of tubers, *pejibaye*, cacao,
bananas,[61] and plantains.

244 The importance of tubers is easily understood
when one takes into account the following
advantages: they can be grown in a wide
range of soils; propagate without trouble; have
few serious pests; will tolerate heavy rainfall;
and are available throughout the year. The
[137] principal root crops are yucas (*Manihot
esculenta* Crantz) including the white, yellow,
reddish, and purple varieties;[62] *tiquisqui* or
*malanga* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott);
white and yellow *ñame* (*Dioscorea* spp.) and
purple and white *ñampi* (*Dioscorea trifida* L.).
245 Cacao, bananas, and plantains are also year-round
products which, once planted, do not
need constant attention.

245 In fact, most of these basic foodstuffs are
262 in production continually, assuring a permanent
source of food. The *pejibaye* usually
bears twice a year and requires from two to
seven years of growth before producing its
first crop. The value of its fruit as an element
of diet, however, cannot be underestimated.[63]
[137] There are several kinds of *pejibayes*—some red
and some yellow, both with and without
seeds.[64] They have been a traditional item of
diet for the Talamancans since pre-Columbian
times when they appear to have been cultivated
extensively.[65] They are present at every
ancient and modern indigenous site, but are
not found wild in the forest.

262 This basic diet is supplemented with several
241 varieties of beans among which are the *kubas*

[137]
[177]

[61] The banana is not an indigenous American foodstuff. It was brought to this continent at the time of the Spanish conquest by Friar Tomás de Berlanga.

[62] These names apply chiefly to the plant without the tuber. The distinguishing characteristics are: white yuca has many and large leaves and a straight trunk; yellow yuca has a yellow trunk and tuber; purple yuca has purple leaves but the root is white; red yuca has red leaves and white tubers.

[63] For food value of this fruit, *see* Appendix I.

[64] The Borucas are the only Costa Rican people who

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262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. [245] [272] [439] In this last region, coffee is raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] [273] [231] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. [175] In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ."[68] In all early

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[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[65] Stone, 1956.

[66] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[67] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

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262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*),1/4 or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

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[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raíces y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

1/4 [See category 116, End Plate 2 - Analyst.]

231 better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

[234] Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen
River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of
[262] the range they are kept more as a bank account
[954] than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás,
Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding
[492] or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/a]
In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong
794 to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent,
231 the patron of the community, roam the
422 savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe
and the animals are used only when the priest
pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the
required number of steers for a communal
[411] feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle
in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church
are the property of three inhabitants who sell
them when necessity demands. Chickens,
231 swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions
[262] such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death
feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

262 **Wild Foods.** The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

262 The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.)
137 Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red
flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the
252 leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

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partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[128] [71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

[1/a] [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are
252 eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
are consumed by the Talamancans including
136 monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits,
boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman),
pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer
(*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and
tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups
still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other meth-
ods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of
the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and
blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).1/A The bow is relatively
short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is
held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling
the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).1/A Arrowheads are thrust
into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fasten-
ed with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread)
(*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
224 large animals, the heads are made of metal
411 (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are
barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made
of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small
animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia*
*costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá*
wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
posedly less pulpy at that time. The method
822 of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

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[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

1/A [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

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322 selected is placed over the fire to soften. A
wire is heated and is pushed through the length
of the wood to remove the soft pulp. If wire is
not available, a *pejibaye* rod is substituted. The
[824] inside is smoothed by wrapping *chumico*
leaves (*Curatella americana* L.) around a *peji-*
*baye* rod and rubbing it up and down. The
gun is then filled with ashes and the outside
[237] covered with beeswax and carbon to pre-
serve it. Two shells, beads, beetles, or lumps
411 of wax are often used as sights (fig. 12, *d*).[a]
The balls for ammunition are made of clay
which has been dried, ground fine, and then
mixed with water, worked with the fingers
and rounded with a wild turkey bone as
[415] needed. They are carried in string bags.

Lances made of *pejibaye* wood with metal
heads are occasionally seen. When rifles or
[415] shotguns are available, rubber bags are used
to carry a powder horn, wick, etc.

[223] Bolas are made by small boys for hunting
birds. *Guarumo* fiber is used instead of cord
[857] and river stones are used for ammunition. A
loop of *pita* (agave thread) is made in one end
into which the forefinger is placed. Then both
ends of the bola are grasped in the hands and
it is swung over the head.

223 A resin called *yok* in Cabécar is put on a
[314] tree where birds are apt to feed. Their feet
stick in this, prohibiting escape. Wild boars
224 and large game are often trapped. This is
accomplished by tying a rope to a tree beside
a path and making a slipknot at the other
end, leaving a wide loop. The loop is placed
in the center of the path and the animal is
snared in it.

At night, in Talamanca, another type of lure is used. Crab claws, with bits of meat left in them, are tied to a piece of string about 22 yards long. Bananas, or whatever fruit the animal being hunted uses for food, is attached to one end of this string. The string is tied to a stick which is thrust into the ground to hold the bait in place. The hunters use a leaf to shield their light and remain hidden. They are alerted by the sound of the claws rattling and shoot their prey with a bow and arrow or a
[262] gun. There is a superstition connected with

[192] "blow gun stick"; in Bribri *skamokəL* signifying the same as in Cabécar.

[a] [see category 116 - END PLATE 11 - ANALYST.]

224 this method of hunting that only cold food
262 may be eaten before the hunt as hot food
brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[a] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete
and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers
[825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and
[227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been
[415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or
cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live
five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons.
[278] The two most frequently used are obtained
from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from
[824] a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds
and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to
[462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into
the water. Non-pregnant women and children
[857] gather downstream to collect the fish in
baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself
[178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained
from the police agent in Talamanca and the
[625] organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway.
[278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from
a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called
[824] *wiwəkri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown
into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

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[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[a] [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 [171] The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).1/1 These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 [824] **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

1/1 [see category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

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372 [177] it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate shelter is not practised except in lower [243] Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are [415] picked. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, [184] however, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom practised. Here the people depend upon [262] bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable [796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any consequence require chocolate. It is also the most [574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--Analyst]

## HOUSES

342 [184] **House Types and Construction.** House types vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times 175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwelling 342 called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom OF P. 16(B)--Analyst]

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[74] Stone, 1949b, p. 10.

[361] [75] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77-78. ". . . en que se congregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

[P.16(B)]

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272 pared without any flavoring or sugar. The chocolate is made into a paste after the bean has been dried, fermented, and ground. Pieces of the paste are broken off as needed, water added, and the mixture stirred with a wooden stick generally made from a root with pronged ends. The paste is wrapped in white *bijagua* [824] leaves (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) and is [484] carried on trips or left in the house for future use.

273 [272] The most common beverage is chicha, although it never takes the place of chocolate, being used as a supplement to this drink, which is apt to be scarce, rather than as a competitor. In itself, chicha is nutritious and is taken by all ages and sexes, often in lieu of sufficient food. It is essential when heavy and group work is to be done and is also drunk at parties and ceremonies. Chicha can be made from a variety of foodstuffs, including plantains, *ñampi*, and pumpkin. The favorites, however, are *pejibaye*, yuca, and maize. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó, fermentation is usually brought about through human saliva obtained by chewing the foodstuff and spitting it into a large clay pot made for this [184] purpose. On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, a form of yeast is used to cause [484] fermentation.[74] For traveling, chicha paste is wrapped in leaves or carried in a leaf-lined *hava* and water is added as needed.

272 A thick drink is made by adding water to mashed boiled ripe plantains.

## HOUSES

175 342 [361]

> . . . in which are congregated all those of the same family lineage, without being permitted to mix with one another, and in this way they make themselves unavailable (to one another). The Palenques are located on the hill tops, which are almost inaccessible, and are ten to twelve leagues apart.[75]

342 [192] The modern house is known in both languages as *usuri*, *u* meaning "house" and *suri*, "the pointed fishing arrow." The name is particularly significant because of the extremely

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hacen para sí incomerciables. Los Palenques los forman en la eminencia de los montes, que son casi inaccesibles, y distan a diez y doce leguas unos de otros. . . ."

342 pointed roof (fig. 5). Actually, the dwelling is designed to shed heavy rainfall easily and to house four separate families (*see* Marriage). [824] The roof palm (*see* Cultivated Crops) is called *bugə* in Cabécar and *ukó* in Bribri. The leaves are suspended on canes to dry before use on the building (fig. 6, *a–b*). The one door and the low walls are made of wooden rods and occasionally of wild cane tied together with vines. There is usually a palm-leaf shed projecting from the single doorway which protects the entrance from the heavy rains. Gabb gives an excellent description of the construction of such a dwelling which we repeat below as the technique of house making has not changed. Before Gabb, however, it is well to note that he speaks in particular of the Bribri house, stating that the Cabécar dwelling formerly was like this but today is similar to a "mere shed." The writer observed that both peoples constructed the large circular house in 1956, but that this style of [184] Cabécar housing was more common in the Chirripó region than in the upper Coen. According to Gabb, these houses are:

> . . . usually circular, from thirty to fifty feet in diameter, and about the same in height. They are composed of long poles, reaching from the ground to the apex. These rest on a ring of withes or vines, tied in bundles, eight or ten inches thick, and resting on a series of upright crotched posts, set in the ground in a circle about a third smaller than the outer circumference of the house. Above this ring, if the house is large, are one or two more, according to its size, not resting on posts, but tied to the sloping poles. The whole is thickly thatched with palm leaves, and finished at the apex by an old earthen jar to stop the leaks. . . .[76]

[178] This type of house is being slowly replaced by a rectangular structure open at both ends.

In the Talamanca Plain, where only the Bribri or Cabécares married to Bribri live, a raised rectangular house made of the bark of [824] *bira*, the Bribri name for the black stilt palm (*Socratea* sp. or species of similar growth habit), but roofed with the leaves of *bugə*, forms a dwelling ideal for the hot, wet climate of the Caribbean lowlands and is, undoubtedly, [177] the result of foreign influence (fig. 7, *d*). It should be noted that here in the plain there

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[76] Gabb, 1875, p. 514.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P. 17(B)]

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## HOUSES

342 has been a long contact with the United Fruit [177] Company. The usual Company house was raised with a *corredor* encircling from a quarter to a half of the upper portion. The Bribri house is high off the ground and consequently dry, airy, and light. There is a large [354] porch where the cooking is done on a raised hearth; where babies and children play without crawling in the mud or mingling with the [574] pigs; and where people can sit and have social visits. The sleeping quarters are concentrated on one side and are separated by stilt palm walls. To make such a structure, the tree is cut into the length desired for the walls and the inside pulp is removed with a machete. [824] Vines are employed for fastening the logs together (fig. 6, *c*). These houses are known to last for ten years. The roofs have a six-year duration.

In addition to this, there is a less elaborate house which is more often seen in the vicinity of the non-indigenous settlements. This type is also rectangular. It consists of a leaf roof, [824] either of palm or *platanillo* (*Cruciferae* sp.), supported by wooden posts without walls. It occurs in various sizes from that suitable for a monogamous family to one capable of housing more than a single wife.

On the southern slope of the range, one sees a vestige of the circular dwelling, especially among the more conservative Cabécares, in an occasional rectangular house with one rounded side (fig. 7, *a*). The circular and communal house is rare in spite of the fact that it is not [591] unusual for several families related matrilineally to inhabit the same building. The general custom here is for the son to take his bride to his father's house until he can afford one of his own. Mud plastering is frequently applied to the exterior walls as a protection against wind. This is a custom borrowed from [177] the Chiricanos of Buenos Aires (fig. 7, *a–b*). Both rectangular wooden rod and cane houses with palm-leaf roofs (figs. 7, *c*; 8, *d*), as a rule [824] the common stilt palm (*Socratea durissima* Wendl.) known as *caarka* in Cabécar, and plank houses with the same roofing or even aluminum sheeting are seen. Fences are used [351] in Ujarrás around vegetable gardens. They are made of closely placed posts tied with vines. In Salitre, some barbed wire fences are seen in the vicinity of the school.

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This
[252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these
251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black
[824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening,
231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh
415 meat is lacking. Small *havas*[1], made by men and women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar
824 and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging
352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely
177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Tala-
[192] manca there is no word to designate these shelves, other than the Bribri *koŋ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking ves-
[272] sels; sticks with a number of little branches left for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [11] It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

[1] [i.e. carrying baskets– ANALYST]

353 gun pellets; the necessary equipment for fishing
and hunting; hen nets or nests for laying
[231] made of vine; bark containers or *bavas;* remedies
[415] in gourds, net bags, wrapped in *bijagua*
leaves, or, rarely, in bottles; tobacco leaves;
bright feathers from birds, in particular the
[237] oriole and macaw; toucan bills; dried flowers;
sea shells and the shells of crustaceans; animal
skins for dress or for curing purposes; fibers
for making rope or string; and seeds and tubers
for planting.

352 *Cabuya* string (*see* Fibers) hammocks, made
513 by the Bribri men and used by them and the
Cabécares, are also suspended from the roofs
of all houses and are for sleeping as well as
resting. Instead of hammocks, sometimes leaves
are placed on the ground by the fire and are
used for sleeping. This is inconvenient as dogs
and pigs are apt to disturb people sleeping on
the floor.

352 Low tetrapod wooden stools or benches are
common. These may be long, rectangular, or
[531] circular and are often decorated with a protruding
head and tail. The women sit on them
while cooking, or people while talking, in
order not to be bothered by smoke. The
[824] benches are generally made of cedar by the
men and are called *kaLwa* or *bekkegLə* in
Cabécar and *kuLá* [77] in Bribri.

415 Close to the roof or the low wall, wooden
mixing trays or wooden mortars, *bavas*, and
basketlike containers (*deku* in Cabécar), frequently
[824] lined with *bijagua* leaves to hold
chicha paste, are raised on wooden supports to
protect them from animals. Large earthen
chicha jars with a pointed base are found in all
the big circular houses of the Bribri and in
some Cabécar ones (fig. 4, *c*). There is always
[439] one or more iron pots, bought in Limón or a
Company commissary (fig. 6, *d*). This is true
even in upper Talamanca. Here and in the
remote parts of Chirripó, *bijagua* leaves frequently
[824] serve as plates and cups, and instead
[264] of spoons, knives and forks, the fingers are
used for eating from these or from a common
[753] pot or gourd. People say that eating utensils
are "dirty" and fear sickness as a result of
their use.

352 In the smaller houses, the general furnishings
177 are the same. As these dwellings are usually

[192] to the Bribri term *kuLá*. In this section, the two
groups are in close contact.

[P. 19 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

352 nearer to non-Indian habitations, intrusions
177 of other customs are evident. The hearth is
sometimes raised and hanging shelves contain
[354] gourds, palm-leaf dishes sewn at the ends
[415] with vines similar to those of the Panamanian
Guaymí, and often one or two knives, forks,
[412] plates, cups, etc. A pole with cut-in or notched
steps is used for a ladder to reach the mez-
417 zanines which are occasionally seen in this
342 type of house. It is significant that the Cabé-
177 cares, who have had less contact with non-
indigenous neighbors in the past, have no word
[192] for this ladder or mezzanine.

354 In the houses nearer to the Talamanca Plain
and in the part of Chirripó near Moravia, an
[824] oil lamp is occasionally seen hanging by
*pita* (agave thread). There is no word for
[192] lamp in either Bribri or Cabécar, but in Tala-
manca, the word for fire is used.

[184] On the Pacific side of the range, at Salitre,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

## DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Dress. Dress does not ever appear to have
formed an important part of Talamanca cul-
ture. From the middle of the 17th century
[287] to the present, we can trace the use of bark
cloth. In this respect, the following commen-
taries are of interest:

> (the Cabécares) . . . for working and in their houses dress in tree bark called in these lands Mastate, and only to go to mass or when in the presence of the priest do they dress in cotton.[78]
>
> The dresses of the Urinamas, Cavécares, and Talamancas are short jackets, so narrow that they expose all the chest, (made) of tree bark which the Spaniards call *mastate*, and a sash of the same about six fingers wide and a yard and a half long, with which they cover their private parts; the women go about with a skirt of the same and some (are) of cotton which they tie (reaching) from the waist to the knees. . . .[79]

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19(B)--ANALYST]

[78] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 501. ". . . y es de advertir que para sus trabajos y vivir en sus casas se visten de Cáscaras de palo llamado en estas tierras Mastate, y sólo para ir á Misa ó ponerse en la presencia del Padre se visten de algodón."

[79] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. "Los vestidos de Urinamas, Cavécares y Talamancas son unas almillas cortas y tan angostas que descubren todo el pecho, de corteza de árbol que llaman los españoles *mastate*, y una banda de lo mismo como de seis dedos de ancha

[P.19(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

184 Ujarrás, and China Kichá, the hearth is more
[354] often constructed of clay on a wooden table.
Here wooden beds and mezzanines made of
[352] wooden rods are used for sleeping along with
hammocks. Plates, spoons, cups, etc., are seen
[415] in every household although their number is
[412] limited according to the family purse. The
low stool is always present but a chair and a
[352] table are found now and then. Hanging shelves
[353] serve for storing food and all manner of odds
and ends. Yeast for chicha, generally wrapped
[824] in *bijagua* leaves, is hung on the wall posts.
[237] The fondness for decorating the wall with
[353] feathers, eggshells, bones, and skins, however,
remains the same as on the Caribbean side.
[231] Attached to the exterior of the house are hen's
nests made of vine baskets or *havas*, a wild
plant or orchid, and generally a piece of tree
trunk containing wild bees.

## DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 An early report concerning the expedition of Fray Margil to the Province of Talamanca states:

> Their dress is very poor, because the men (are dressed) with their cloth of skins, and the women with their short cloths, and those who do not have them, with plantain leaves appear as contented as the best dressed Spaniards.[80]

Today, bark cloth (*see* Manufactures and
[287] Trade), still called *mastate* in Spanish, is used
in upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó as
shirts or Mother Hubbards, as loin cloths, and
[513] as bed covering. In the rest of the area inhabit-
ed by the Talamancas, it is only used as
[294] blankets. Sewing is done by both men and
[462] women but chiefly by the men.
[439] The ordinary woman's garment consists of

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y vara y medio de largo, con que cubren las partes de honestidad; las mujeres andan con una manta de lo mismo y algunas de algodón que la atan desde la cintura a las rodillas. . . ."

[80] De Espinosa, 1742, p. 64. "Su vestir es pobrisimo, porq los hombres con sus cendales de pieles, y las mujeres con sus pañalitos cortos, y las que no los tienen, con hojas de platanos se hallan tan contentos como los mas bien vestidos Españoles."

[P. 20(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

291 a cheap cotton cloth which is bought from
[439] the nearest trading post or commissary and
made into a Mother Hubbard. Short skirts
and blouses are occasionally seen, particularly
on the Pacific side. Some of the older Bribri
women in upper Talamanca weave brown and
white striped skirts from cotton (*see* Manufactures).[81]
286 The art of weaving is said to have been learned from the Borucas.
177 The Bribri do not know the single-weft technique, however.[82]

291 A man's clothing is generally a pair of
trousers and a shirt. A belt can be a piece of
vine, string, bark cloth, or brown and white
striped cotton woven by the men. Except on
[184] the Pacific side, leather belts are almost never
worn. Sandals are unknown, and shoes are
rare in the region of Talamanca but are more
common on the Pacific slope.

302 **Adornment.** Women's hair is long (figs. 9,
*d*; 10, *b–c*) and usually parted in the center,
braided, and rolled into a bun. Only at Salitre
[184] and Ujarrás does one see short and curled hair
on the younger women. Flowers, ribbons,
[301] cheap barrettes and combs, often as many as
six or seven, are favorite adornments for the
head (fig. 9, *a–c*). Although men have short
hair, there is a tendency to allow it to grow
longer than is customary among non-Indians,
particularly the forelocks which are combed
straight back or hang on the face untouched
(fig. 10, *a*, *d*).

Face painting seems to have been practised on the Caribbean side as late as the eighteen seventies. Gabb calls attention to it in Talamanca[83] and the then Bishop of Costa Rica, Bernardo A. Thiel, mentions some women and children whom he saw in Chirripó and states: " . . . They had two horizontal black bands

[Text continues top of p. 20(B)--analyst]

## TRANSPORTATION

481 **By Land.** The most common method of transportation is by foot. The Talamancans are expert walkers on steep, rocky trails, some of which lead through tunnels of matted forest

[Text continues bottom of p. 20(B)--analyst]

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[81] Compare this with Gabb, 1875, pp. 517–18.

[82] Stone, 1949, pp. 16–17.

[83] Gabb, 1875, p. 519.

[P. 20(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

302 (painted) below the eyes and on the cheeks.
. . ." [84] In the 20th century, there is no trace
[178] of paint in the Caribbean region. On the
Pacific side, a few women copy non-Indians by
[177] putting *achiote* on their cheeks in place of
rouge and using lipstick which they buy.
[751] Cocoa butter is applied occasionally as a protection against the sun.

292 In upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó on
festive occasions, during short periods of group
[474] work in building a house, clearing forests, hauling logs for a clan grave, etc., men still wear
headdresses made of white feathers and of
[237] macaw and eagle feathers (*see* Reunions).
301 Formerly the *usegLa* (*see* Social Organization) wore necklaces of jaguar teeth. Today,
boys use these necklaces "to get them used to
[825] hunting and take away fear of the jaguar."
Beads made from sea shells are mixed with
these teeth (fig. 12, *c*). The long all-shell
strings, called *chaquira* and mentioned in
[178] Spanish reports,[85] are not known now. Children have a "good luck" necklace called
[777] *sewivu* in Cabécar. This is made from the bark
[824] of a tree called *kuri* which is claimed to be
immune to disease and to propagate of its own
accord. Sea shells, seeds (occasionally carved),
[237] bones, and jaguar, monkey, or alligator teeth
are strung on it (*see* Manufacture). When
financially possible, women wear strands of
[439] red beads which are bought in trading posts
or commissaries. There are no earrings in the
remote sections.

301 On the Pacific side, the "good luck" neck-
184 laces of children have fewer or no teeth and
[777] often a Roman Catholic charm or cross is
worn. Here women wear earrings and single
[439] strands of glass beads bought from traveling
merchants.

## TRANSPORTATION

481 roots. They are also adept at crossing swift boulder-filled rivers on foot. Their only aid when traveling is a long staff which they cut for this purpose before undertaking a journey.

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[84] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, p. 338.
[85] Fernández, 1882, vol. II, p. 152.

[P. 21 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

492 184 Very seldom on the Caribbean, but frequently on the Pacific side, horses and oxen are used for transportation (*see* Domestic Animals; fig. 2, *d*).

501 [133] **By Water.** The rivers in Bribri and Cabécar territory on the Pacific side do not lend themselves to water transportation. It is interesting to note that here the usual word for a boat, in both tongues, is a corruption of the Spanish [192] *canoa: kanó* in Bribri; *konǫ* in Cabécar. The Bribri of the Caribbean littoral, however, use besides the term just given, the word *ru.*[86]

Both Gabb and Skinner call attention to the lack of water craft among the Bribri,[87] but Pittier mentions cedar and ceiba canoes, some equipped with a sail and rudder for the sea.[88] This last type is not seen today, but dugouts are fairly common in the Sixaola River, men and women paddling or poling when necessary (*see* Canoes). Balsa logs are tied together with vines making rafts and are used to cross rivers in parts of upper Talamanca. The Cabécares are not seamen in any sense, and only those married to Bribri in the Sixaola Plain are known to manage dugouts.

482 **Carrying Devices.** The tumpline (*see* Fibers) is used by men around the shoulders or chest. By women, it is worn around the head for heavy burdens. Babies are carried by women [854] who tie them in a tumpline around the shoulders or in a piece of *mastate* around the waist (FIG. 9, d.).

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

## *MANUFACTURES*

283 [824] [248] [799] **Fibers.** There are many fiber plants used for cordage by these peoples. White cotton, one or two bushes of which are found near every household, is mainly ceremonial in use, being fashioned into string for tying death bundles (*see* Funeral and Bone Burial). The women make this by rolling the deseeded fibers with the palm of their hands over their thighs. The result is an uneven lumpy string but one that [777] they consider as very essential to prevent bad luck and to protect the dead. For use in sewing [294] clothes, some women also make cotton thread on spindle whorls. Occasionally, small carrying nets are manufactured from it.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 21(B)--Analyst]

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[86] *ru* is also the Boruca word for any water craft.

[87] Gabb, 1875, p. 523; Skinner, 1920, p. 86.

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Havas* fastened to the tumpline are
also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is
among the densest in the world. Trails, how-
[137] ever, have been kept open since pre-Columbian
times when trade was common between the
[436] Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even
today, one passes through cleared tunnels
under the matted roots of trees and shrubs
which, according to tradition, are the same
passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the
three trails which cross the range (*see* Geog-
raphy), that connecting the Lari region with
491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges
made of vines which span chasms and swift-
flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges
are also known in upper Chirripó. They are
[192] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word
used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string.
The vines are woven netlike to form one or
two sides. The first type can be either a single
net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or
it is placed as a railing along a log. To make
the second style, two stout vines are swung
across the space to be bridged and fastened
securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of
braided vines is tied to these so as to form
a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape,
or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*).
These hammock bridges are remade every six
months by the men from the nearest houses.

## *MANUFACTURES*

283 One of the most important fibers comes
[824] from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this
plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*,
[172] of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into
thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both
[462] men and women prepare this fiber, although
it is generally the women's task. The leaf is
cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even
the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded
to soften it, and then it is put on a log and
scraped with the blunt edge of a machete
from the top to the bottom. At the bottom
end, the woman pulls the remaining outer
fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

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[illegible] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into [482] rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [171] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets [482] are made from it.

A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or [824] *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

[P.22(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets,
[513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the
[438] Borucas.

The third type, *testi* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape
[224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets.
[227] At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made from the same material and in the same technique.

[P.23(A)]

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Cabecar

286 415 [184] nique. Very seldom does one see bags woven from cotton or *guarumo* fiber. This last is found among the Cabécares, particularly on the Pacific side.

286 There are two types of weaving, single or
double loop.[89] Those for ordinary purposes
are single looped and are generally made with
the fingers alone, although at times a bone
needle is used to open the hole. The fine
meshes, however, are made with needles of
[412] *pejibaye* thorns, and those a bit coarser with
824 needles of deer or monkey bones. The coarse
[237] bags are always plain and undyed. The better
ones, however, are decorated with horizontal
[531] bands of red-brown, yellow, and black. (*see*
Dyes).

285 824 [482] **Baskets.** *Havas* or carrying baskets are made
by men from vines (*bejuco de bierro*) and are
suspended down the back by a tumpline.
Baskets for household use only are fashioned
from the vein of the white *bijugua* leaf or
from palm leaves or cane. Crudely made vine
[231] basket-nets are used for setting hens and hung
on the outer walls of the houses.

386 824 **Dyes.** Red dye for decorating net bags is obtained from the leaves of a vine (*Arrabidae chica* [H. & B.] Verl.)[90] and by rubbing the leaf of *Melastomaceae* sp. A darker red or purple-red comes from the leaf of the red *higuerilla* (*Ricinus communis* L.). On the Pacific side, yellow is made from the bulb of the *yuquilla* (*Curcuma longa* L.), whereas in the Talamanca region it is extracted from a vine called *skəbarko* in Bribri. Black is made by rubbing with *ojo de buey* (*Mucuna mutisiana* D.C.), and in Cabécar it is obtained from a leaf called *səkíbeL*. This must be mashed and rubbed dry on the fiber because if wet, it is ineffective.

352 **Hammocks.** Hammocks are made principally by Bribri men from *cabuya* thread although *pita* is also used (*see* Fibers), and occasionally by the Cabécares from bark cloth (*see* Bark Cloth). There are two sizes of Bribri hammocks. The largest one is generally used by the Bribri themselves and the smaller one,

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[89] Skinner, 1920, pp. 58-62, gives a detailed description of these weaves.

[171] [90] This is also used in the interior of South America.

[91] Gabb, 1875, pp. 511-12.

[P.23(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb[91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes [264] used as spoons to dish out food and occa- [534] sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

[531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or childlike drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bevas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

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[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77-78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[93] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67-68.

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
[137] over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut at the top of the joint and is utilized for rounding the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones are made into handles for rattles and fastened with *pita.*

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
*pejibaye* stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
most important ones are for fastening on the
[411] sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla.* When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate.*

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
ment both on the house walls and as head-
[301] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
[372] and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
824 boiled to make soap.

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381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle
hide among these people. The Cabécares of the
[231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and
rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca,
[415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs
of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their
non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry
rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and
jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of
deer hide are used for minute bags which
[824] contain good luck seeds to put on children's
[777] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly
[292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over
their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary
[534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope
and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is
tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F.
824 Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches
(*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a
variety of uses many of which have been
mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the
Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often
[252] made of wood and are large enough for several
women to use at the same time. They are
located beside a water hole or stream and are
balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side,
[415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs,
up to twelve feet in length and supported by
[273] four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings).
Vertical wooden mortars for rice,
[412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are
[415] common. These last two items are used for
drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste
[251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique*
[252] sticks are an important part of the medicine
man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia
and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used
(*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed
for food preparation and the manufacture of
287 bark cloth.

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802 **Numerical System.** Both the Cabécares and the Bribri use the decimal system but have a complicated method of counting, depending upon the subject and, in part, the shape under consideration. The Cabécares, furthermore, have ordinal numbers. Gabb, Theil, Pittier, and Pozas[84] have already presented in detail the principles concerned with the numeration of these Talamancan peoples. In the present account, we reiterate the major points of these authors' observations and add some minor details of our own. Gabb and Pittier devote most of their attention to the Bribri, while Pozas has concentrated on the Cabécar.

The Bribri have six ways of counting. The numeral changes slightly if the subject is a person, an animal, a house, a round object, a large object, a plant or tree. The subject always precedes the number which differs slightly depending on this. There are, however, certain subjects which are followed not only by the number but also by a suffix or a word. In Bribri, for instance, a given tree, such as the *pejibaye*, is followed by the number and by the generic name "tree." The Cabécares have the same system with slight variations. In Cabécar, in the case of a given tree, the generic term is not necessary although it sometimes occurs. The common form is a word without meaning but which appears to be euphonic and obligatory, *káte*, which precedes the numeral.

804 **Measures.** There is no given method of measure. *Havas* and baskets serve on both sides of the range. The Pacific people and those in the Talamanca Plain are also accustomed to use [177] the Spanish measures such as *quintal*, *cajuela*, etc., as well as their indigenous method (*see* Trade).

805 **Measurements of Time.** The year is known in both languages by the term for summer or dry season, *duwas* or *duas*. The wet season is called *kaLikeska*, rain (*kaLi*) time (*keska*). The yearly divisions are indicated by these two terms plus those for the changes of the moon:[85]

[84] Gabb, 1875; Thiel, 1884; Pittier, 1904; Pozas, N.D.

[85] The terms given are Bribri. The same divisions are found in Cabécar, however, even though the words

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## NUMBERS AND MEASURES

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New moon | *si* (moon) | *pąLt* (new) |
| Growing moon | *si* (moon) | *tso* (half) *kák* (sky) |
| Full moon | *si* (moon) | *tuLá* (full) |
| Waning moon | *si* (moon) | *tuį* (less) |

The day is designated by the movement of the sun in the following fashion among the Bribri:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| dawn | *buLám*[95] | |
| early morning | *dìwo*[96] | (sun) *kine* (came out) |
| from about 8 A.M. to midday | *dìwo* | (sun) *cambe* (half) |
| midday | *dìwo* | (sun) *okąp* (up) |
| afternoon | *dìwo* | (sun) *buténa* (lowers) or |
| | *dìwo* | (sun) *askeuian* (spends itself or lowers) |
| evening | *dìwot* | (sun) *kam* (gone) or |
| | *dìwot* | (sun) *míam* (goes in) |

A slightly simpler division is used by the Cabécar:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| dawn | *káquir* (place) | *Kánirrawą́* (dawning) |
| early morning | *saquira* (early) | |
| midday | *kąwó* (sun) | *mogį* (half) |
| afternoon | *komiskLÁ* (late) | |

There are only two expressions for night:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Bribri:* | |
| night | *ką* (place or time) *tsina* (dark) *or* |
| midnight | *ką* (place or time) *cambus* (half) |
| *Cabécar:* | |
| night | *tawina* (dark)[97] |
| midnight | *ká* (place) *lalį* (half) |

The counting of past and future time is also of interest. Both tribes have the same system. The list given here is in Bribri and is used up to 6.

| *Past* | *Present* | *Future* |
|---|---|---|
| yesterday<br>*chikí* | today<br>*íne* | tomorrow<br>*buLé* |
| 2 days past<br>*bókLi* | | 2 days after today<br>*baiki* |
| 3 days past<br>*maqaLi* | | 3 days after today<br>*mepek* |
| 4 days past<br>*tkáLi* | | 4 days after today<br>*tkék* |

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are different.

[96] Sun can be called *dìwo* or *dìwots.*

[97] Note that this is the same word used by the Bribri.

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805
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| *Past* | *Present* | *Future* |
|---|---|---|
| 5 days past<br>*skfLi* | | 5 days after today<br>*skfiki* |
| 6 days past<br>*térik* | | 6 days after today<br>*teriki* |

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 26(B)--Analyst]

## LIFE CYCLE

784 [182] [756] [184] [609] All events of life are bound by tabus and fear, and of necessity these occasions require the aid of the medicine man. Even on the Pacific slope where custom is less rigid, certain prohibitions and laws continue, although they are not freely discussed nor is their practise admitted to strangers.

843 Pre-natal. Both Gabb[88] and Pittier[89] have called attention to the fact that the Bribri believe that an unborn child can be influenced by certain objects seen or objects worn by the woman around her waist. This is not limited to the Bribri, however, but is also characteristic of the Cabécar. In addition to the information given by the above-mentioned authors, there are many more superstitions, some of which are cited below. Pregnant women cannot participate when certain types of poison are used for fishing (*see* Fishing), [753] nor can they cut cacao trees. If they cut such a tree, when it is time for the child to die, he will wilt from the waist down in slow agony and will then require the aid of a medicine man to die (*see* Curing). A pregnant woman cannot eat from a pot, only from a leaf or a plate. If she fails to obey this rule, her child will be stupid or stricken dumb and not even the medicine man can cure him. If she eats [825] *perico ligero* (sloth) it means that her family will be valiant and hard to kill. If the man is an *okųm* (*see* Death), he cannot bury while his wife is pregnant. There is also the belief [761] that the first time a girl is in this state someone has to die. Occasionally, therefore, the family of a dead person search for a girl in her first pregnancy and a fight with her family ensues. [184] This does not happen on the Pacific side.

[262] Tapir meat is tabu. Some months before birth, the medicine man gives the expectant

[TEXT CONTINUES middle OF P. 26(B)-Analyst]

[88] Gabb, 1875, p. 494.

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805 192 177 On the Pacific side, the school has been responsible for the use of the European divisions.[a] These have been incorporated into the local tongue, e.g., *nomingoét*, which literally is "Sunday" from the Spanish *domingo*, and *ét*, the Bribri "one." This means one week.

[a] [i.e.: divisions of time - Analyst.]

## *LIFE CYCLE*

843 mother a drink made from barks and herbs which is supposed to stop the lochia.

844 [343] **Birth.** Birth itself must take place unattended in a separate house made by the father of leaves or branches and located beside a running stream or at least a water hole. The woman, once she enters this shelter, must be seen by no one until the medicine man prepares her after everything is over. [826] [761] [264] The belief is that a woman about to bear has four eyes, and if any person or animal sees her in this state, he will die. Food is carried to her in a leaf which must be buried as soon as it has served its purpose so that neither animal nor human being can walk on it. If this should happen, the mother would have a violent stomach-ache. The bringer of the food, usually an old woman, must turn her face away so as not to look as she gives it, and must take pains not to touch the mother. [262] Salt, chocolate, tapir, and pork are tabu during this period.

Birth is given in a stooping position. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife fashioned from the tender part of wild cane or from a pig bone, or is crushed with stones. It is tied with cotton thread made especially for this purpose (*see* Fibers). The umbilical cord and the afterbirth are buried where the child is born. It is believed that if another spot is chosen, the child will roam away from his mother. After the cord is tied, he is washed in the stream. 846 Among the Caribbean Cabécar, the woman stays isolated for eight days: four in the birth shelter, and four in the house. For the first four days, an old woman brings the mother a hot liquid made from the bark of [824] trees, in particular that of *kaoli* (*Phoebe mexicana*), with which to bathe herself and the child. When she returns to the house, she

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Pittier, 1938, p. 23.

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846 remains in a corner for the next four days, bathing regularly with the same kind of liquid. 756 The medicine man talks for two nights and passes a variety of leaves, including *aiik* 846 (*Aracea* sp.), over her and the new born babe [824] who is also washed with leaves which supposedly have protective powers. These leaves [751] include: lemon grass (*Cymbopogan citratus*); leaf of the *estrella* (*P. auritum* H.B.&K.); and leaf of the *pasmo* (*Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don.).[100] At the end of the eighth day, [783] there is a purification ceremony during which the medicine man blows smoke over the mother and child. He then eats in front of the household so that all can see nothing is wrong and then offers some of the same food to the mother.

846 On the Pacific slope, the Cabécar only stay isolated for three days and the cleansing ceremony is seldom performed.

846 The Bribri on both sides of the range have much the same customs as the Caribbean Cabé- 756 car. After the fourth day of birth, however, the medicine man appears and orders the woman to bathe, giving her herbs for the purpose.[101] [783] He blows smoke on her and the child and puts a little water mixed with chile, chocolate, and the heart of the *pejibaye* palm in a leaf telling her to wash her hands with it. Then he puts some of the same liquid in his mouth and spits it back into the leaf, repeating this four times.

853 The woman nurses the child until she becomes pregnant again, or at least from one and a half to two years.

553 **Names.** Segarra y Julia[102] calls attention to the practise of not naming a boy but allowing him to choose his own appellation when he reaches puberty. For the most part, the names were taken from individuals who caught their fancy even though not known personally, such as a president, general, etc. These names were frequently changed by whim. This custom is still practised in upper Talamanca.

551 Pittier[103] notes that the Bribri male had a [756] secret name. In 1956, however, with perhaps the exception of upper Talamanca and Chir-

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[100] This leaf is supposed to give a pale color to the infant.

[192] [101] This is called the *papaktuk* ceremony. pa in this instance is "tabu" or "thing that is not touched." It

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551 [756] ripó, only the medicine man has a name which cannot be divulged. When there is no Christian term, parents call their children affectionately after colors or according to the kind of hair they might have. Other people designate them by their clan, e.g., son of *túgwa*, etc., which in Talamanca, at least, has all the significance of a family name. On the Pacific side, the non-baptized are called brother (*taže*) among the Bribri. *kutá*, meaning "sister," is not used for non-baptized people. All children receive a pet name at birth from their mother. One Bribri informant was called *kLeLe*, a term which he could not interpret apart from the fact that it was an endearing one. Animal names are also given and are used only by the immediate family. In public, Spanish names are heard. Cousin is used generally for both sexes as an affectionate term (for a more detailed list *see* Kinship Terminology).

881 [145] **Puberty.** Girls start to menstruate between 12 and 14. On this first occasion a house of plantain or banana leaves is constructed apart from the dwelling and so arranged that light is not permitted to enter (*see* Tabus). The girl is fed only by her mother and follows a strict diet consisting almost entirely of fruits, with [262] the exception of bananas, and no salt. Further- [271] more, she cannot drink water other than that from a well or a place where the water is not flowing. When her period is over, she bathes in a spring that is almost dry. The medicine [756] man gives her copal (*Protium Costarricense* [824] [Rose] Engler) bark to chew and a drink made from plants and roots. This beverage prevents [278] menstruation for two months. After that the 841 flow comes regularly. At no time when menstruating can the girl serve men at meals, and [264] during this period she must stay aside even [262] in her home, abstain from salt, and drink from a gourd apart from the rest.

854 **Education.** The overindulgence of babies is common and they are weaned anywhere from [862] one and a half to two years of age. They are [855] held continually in someone's arms, carried on the back, or swung in a hammock. In Talamanca and Chirripó, the customary manner of

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846 also can mean "feces" and "bread." *pa* means "around
756 one." *kuok* is "to bathe."
192 [illegible] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 552-53.

[illegible] Pittier, 1938, pp. 27-28.

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854 carrying a baby or small child is astride the
[855] hips held by a cotton cloth or *mastate* (*see*
Bark Cloth) strip. One never sees a baby
[856] crawl and they are given anything they cry
for. It is interesting to note that habits in connection
863 with excretion are taught practically
from birth. The child is taken out of the house
and held up while he does his needs. He is not
allowed to do so on a lap nor in the dwelling
itself.

593 The family is very close. It is not unusual
to see a mother put her arm around a son, or
854 a father lie in a hammock with his small children
beside him. Parents pay attention to personal
details, such as wiping a child's nose or
washing its face. There are not, however,
264 regular meal hours. One eats when there is
food and when one is hungry. The Pacific
[177] Cabécar copy the rules of the school and eat
three times a day in their own homes.

868 Almost as soon as they can walk, both sexes
are taught to swim and help to make fires,
using the fire fan and blowing. Girls are taught
[864] to pull their skirts between their legs when
sitting on the low benches or on the ground
before the hearth. At the age of seven, they
begin to clean the house, cut fire wood, and
cook. The boys cut wood, fish, and hunt,
using small arrows for training. When the
adults are out in the fields or hunting, children
up to ten years old stay at home to tend the
fire and to work about the house. Parents also
867 are responsible for teaching tribal customs, for
example: the clans with which one can marry;
[788] tabus; the baptism of one's self with salt water
when seeing the sea for the first time,[104] etc.

[871] In Talamanca and Chirripó, there is no
school and all lore is learned by word of mouth
on rainy nights around the hearth. "Study" is
[756] restricted to those preparing to be medicine
men (*see* The Medicine Man), who must
undergo a severe apprenticeship, or in a less
[767] lengthy manner to those who want to have
some connection with the handling of the dead
(*see* Death). Games are limited and simple.
857 Small children take pebbles or grass in their
[524] toes and try to place them in a straight line.
Often they play with mud daubers' nests or
similar objects connected with their environment.
[526] Boys play at marksmanship with a bow,

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[104] Pittier, 1938, p. 20.

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857 arrow, or blow gun. A favorite pasttime for
[526] both sexes is to tie a vine to a log and swing
it, jumping as with a rope.

On the Pacific side, both sexes go to grange
892 schools when they reach the age of seven and
continue for from four to six grades, depending upon the location. Besides Spanish, the
official language of Costa Rica, first year teaching is carried out in the mother tongue. Ball
games, swings, and see-saws, sewing, cooking,
and manual training form an important part
of the program. Attention is also paid to hygienic customs. In Cabagra, reading and sewing
[871] classes for adults have been started.

582 **Marriage.** The matrilineal clan, the dominant
[614] social organization of both these peoples (*see*
Social Organization), controls marriage possibilities as one cannot form a union within a
blood group related to one's mother. The con-
594 trol of the family falls to the mother if she is
562 alive. Even the men respect her and cases have
been known where the mother has beaten male
members. It is also important to remember
595 that four wives are permitted (*see* Myths:
*Cacao*). This is a practise followed on both
[184] sides of the range although it is as yet unseen
among the youth of the Pacific slope. As a
[582] rule, a man marries sisters. The first wife is
always the head of the family and can rule
the others.

584 Courtship is relatively simple. In Talamanca
and Chirripó the custom, which has almost
entirely disappeared, was for the man to go
to a house where there was a girl-child and
ask for her as a wife saying, however, that he
would care for her as a daughter. Then he
would cut the wood for cooking, fish, make
*mastate*, in fact, do daily chores for the girl's
mother until the child turned twelve or reached puberty. During this intermediary period,
the girl would become accustomed to the man
and would run to meet him on his visits to
[591] receive some little gift. When the time came,
he took her to his parents' home. There they
lived in the communal house, or, if his father
had too many wives with offspring, he built
a house apart but at the side of his parents'
house.

In 1959, the man visits his prospective wife three times. He asks her parents' permission to marry and, particularly on the Pacific side, he

584 asks his parents. There have been a few cases in
this area when permission was denied. Then,
[583] the couple ran away to other indigenous com-
munities of different tongues, for example, the
Cabécares among the Bribri or vice versa. The
writer does not know of similar cases in Talamanca.

583 When the answer is satisfactory, the couple
live from eight days to one year in trial mar-
591 riage in the house of the girl. The boy works
for her family cultivating the land, chopping
wood, etc., until he takes his woman away to
his parents' home. He must also give the girl
material for dresses which she makes into
clothes. If he already has a wife then he gives
[595] a present of food or animals to the new
woman's family and visits her periodically
until he feels it is time to take her to his home
or his parents' home.

583 On the Pacific side, social pressure against
trial marriages is at times evidenced by the
[184] contemporaries of the couple, not by their
elders. This is due to the influence of the
[177] school. Here when first married, the pair
591 generally stay in the house of the father of
the boy, although this is not a set rule. The
length of time they live there depends upon
the father's age. However, from six to eight
years is not uncommon. If the mother of the
girl is poor and a widow, the couple go to
live with her. If while living with either family
on the Pacific slope, one of the pair does not
get along with the prospective in-laws, they
build a house apart but close to the parents.
Eventually on this site, the man builds his
own home.

595 In Ujarrás, there are several cases among the
Cabécares of a woman and two or three men
living in the same house. The woman washes
and cooks only when she feels like it. When
she doesn't the men take care of her.

586 On both sides, the men do not like their
women to travel alone for fear they might go
off with another man. When a woman leaves
her husband, the children stay with the father.

182 **Death and Burial.** The most important phase
of the life cycle as far as ceremony and
761 prestige are concerned is death. This is when
social organization flanked by the unanswer-
able or mysterious aspects of religion combine
in a pageant that might well put to shame many
764 theatrical producers. In the first place, there

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764 are two ceremonies connected with death. The
first takes place when the individual dies, and
[765] the second and most important is held about a
year later and can be called a bone funeral as
well as burial. During each there is a feast
at which the remains of the deceased are
present. It must be remembered that the basis
764 of society among the Talamancans is the matri-
614 lineal clan. The laws governing such an
organization require strict adherence to one's
blood group even after death. Each clan, therefore,
has its own communal grave called in
both languages a *pų* (*see* Funeral and Bone
764 Burial). According to the Bribri, the custom
of a communal grave was started by the
Singers (*see* The Singers) who were also responsible
for the respect given the clan. They
say that the *pų* are only about 200 years old.
Among the Cabécar, they are not stone lined
at the bottom and are covered by rough
planks on top. The Bribri have a more
elaborate design which includes a stone floor
and a slanting wood covering which is left
open at the front. It would be unpleasant to
say the least to open a communal grave each
time a member of the clan died. It would be
worse when epidemics prevailed. The only
solution then, if the society demands segregation
on the basis of maternal blood, is to bury
a person when there is no longer a trace of
odoriferous material present, or, in other
words, to bury clean bones. This is why the
first step after death is to wrap the body in
[775] *bijagua* leaves, with, of course, the proper
articles for the comfort of the spirit, and to
place the package in the woods where it is
well protected by briars and cut branches
765 from rapine birds and beasts. After a year,
when all the flesh has disappeared, the leaf
bundle is opened and rearranged by the proper
authorities and a package of bones wrapped
in cloth is deposited for permanent rest in the
clan grave where there is no risk of sin against
the existing social order (*see* Social Organization).

764 On the Pacific slope, where the school has
[177] undertaken an educational program to incorporate
the Talamancans into the Costa
[871] Rican republic, cemeteries, sanctioned by the
Ministry of Public Health and blessed by the
Roman Catholic priest, have been started. A
description of a Pacific burial will be given

764 later. Here it is necessary to note, however,
that certain vestiges of traditional customs
[178] persist, at least among the Bribri of Cabagra.
When a person has been dead and buried a
[765] year, he is exhumed and replaced in the same
grave.

767 **Official Participants in Death and Burial Rites.**
There is an elaborate group of officials con-
764 nected with death and burial rites even today.
Each division requires certain preparation by
the individual taking part in the rites. In a
sense, these participants can be classed as lay
clergy. These "professionals," if so they can
be called, are of utmost importance when one
[784] realizes that the dead are strictly tabu to the
non-initiated. If, by any ill luck, a person
[783] should touch someone dead, a three-day puri-
fication ceremony is absolutely essential or
misfortune will befall him. This is true of both
slopes of the range.

[756] The principal figure in these rituals is the
medicine man, known in Bribri and Cabécar
as the *jawá* (*see* The Medicine Man). Next in
importance today is the Burier (*see* The
Buriers) who handles and wraps the dead.
Then follow the Singers (*see* The Singers)
whose place is now generally taken by the
[756] medicine man as well as that of the Preparer of
Feasts. A medicine man, particularly on the
Pacific side, functions in all of these positions.
Among the Cabécar, there is a minor group
known as the *já*, and among the Bribri the
*ǯarichək*, who need no special training but who
prepare the things for the dead to take with
them *without* touching the body.

[756] The preparation and position of the medicine
man is treated under religion because in addi-
tion to his curing abilities, he personifies the
last remaining vestiges of former credences
and priesthood.

The other officials in connection with death
and burial have duties concerned solely with
these operations. They do not seem to form
part, as has been said by some, of the priest-
[554] hood, but do have a decided social position
because of their task.

767 **The Buriers.** They are known as *ókub* or
*ókųm* in Bribri and *keri* in Cabécar. They are
[756] the only people, aside from the medicine man
who is all important, who can touch the dead.
They must also light the funeral fire. They are
[825] the only non-clergy who can touch a buzzard
or a possum.

767 or a possum. There is a well-regulated course
which one must adhere to before one can
achieve this position. The fee for this is paid
[465] to the teacher (who is, of course, a recognized
Burier) in foodstuffs, such as pigs, *bavas* of
yucas, etc. Plus the study, there are twenty-two
[262] days of rigid diet when meat, salt, and
chocolate cannot be used. After this, the aspirant
must act as assistant five times, four of
[785] which demand fasting, and for two days of
which he cannot use his hands to eat nor to
touch his face. The training of the novice
begins at four o'clock in the morning when he
must bathe with his teacher who is the only
person he is allowed to see. He cannot touch
another man or woman and must live during
[343] this period in a hut of banana leaves which he
himself must build. The teacher likewise is not
allowed to touch others, and must hand the
food to his pupil from afar. This in itself must
be in *bijagua* leaves and cannot have contact
787 with the human hand. One of the tests is for
767 the novice to go with the teacher at three
o'clock in the morning and cut a staff. Both put
a string around one wrist and around each staff.
Then the master sticks his pole in the ground
and attaches the string to a nearby tree. The
aspirant copies this act. If both cuttings grow,
it is a sign that the novice will live long and
bury many people. If one dies, it is taken
for a bad omen. A full-fledged burier must
767 follow a diet the day of and after a funeral.
He can eat nothing but plantain (*Dominik*)
[262] and wild herbs cooked without salt.

[554] Even the younger generation on the Pacific
slope respect the Buriers. The comment of
an exceptionally enlightened Bribri, for example,
when questioned about the necessity of
the Burier at a death was: "This is the custom,
as is a law, and one has to do it whether one
likes it or not." In 1956, in Salitre alone, there
were six Buriers. Ujarrás had three, but could
use those from Salitre if their own were not
available. At Ujarrás, however, all who assist
at the funeral must bathe three days later at
four o'clock in the morning. They must also
tap the official Burier on the head with *bijagua*
leaves.

767 **The Singers.** There are no longer Singers
533 except in Chirripó. In the other regions, the
[756] medicine man, as stated before, has taken over
[775] their functions. The duties of the Singers were

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767 always confined to funeral ceremonies where they chanted the deeds and merits of the de-
533 ceased as well as sped the soul along on its
[775] journey to the other world through song. The
[614] Bribri Singers came from the *stsukur* or *stu'gur* clan according to Gabb and Pittier,[105] but the elders and medicine men in 1956 claimed that they belonged to the *síbewak*, *korrebué*, or *sinábwak* groups. Gabb states that their office
[428] was hereditary,[106] and that they were next to the *usegLa* in importance. Pittier suggests heredity [107] and notes that they lived only by the lower Coen and had a number of assistants the highest of whom were called *ko*, and apprentices known as *siní*.[108] He adds that elaborate preparation was necessary before the title of Singer was won. This is not exactly in keeping with the idea that their position was hereditary.

[614] Cabécar Singers had to come from the following clans: *kibegrwwák*, *síbewak*, *bLerìwak*, and *sənítrwə* (*see* The Clans and Myths: *Protectors of Clans*). Their name in this language is *səgLə*.

[198] Gabb,[109] speaking only about the Bribri, calls attention to the fact that the songs of *stsukur* were in a language which neither he nor the uninitiated could understand. As Lehmann has pointed out, however, the Bribri Singers were in reality a Cabécar group,[110] according to his spelling and that of Pittier, the *korrbué*. We use *korrebué* because this is the pronunciation given by the Bribri today. There is, nevertheless, another angle to this problem, particularly if one accepts the statement that the Bribri Singers could come from one of the three clans mentioned above. This
[198] is the use of a "sacred language" by the
[177] medicine men of both Talamancan peoples when singing and the adoption of foreign songs even by the laymen. These aspects will be discussed later under Curing and Songs, respectively.

764 The Pacific Bribri and Cabécares, in lieu
756 of Singers, have a ceremony called *setélurwak* in Bribri which is carried out by the medicine
184 man when someone dies (*see* First Burial).

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[105] Gabb, 1875, p. 508; Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

[106] Gabb, 1875.

[107] Pittier, 1895, p. 18.

[108] Pittier, 1938, pp. 17–18. Could there be a connec-

767 **The Organizer of Feasts.** This position is
common to both Talamancan peoples and is
764 covered by a single title, *bika'kra*. One has to
study to achieve it.[111] The principal tasks of
the Organizer of Feasts is at the death of an
individual to designate the persons who must
[273] plant the maize to be used for the chicha at
the time of the bone funeral; to name those
who are to make it; and those who have to
provide chocolate, plantains, pigs, etc., for the
[756] feast. On the Pacific slope, this position has
also been absorbed by the medicine man.

**The já.** Back in the woodland, however,
764 where authorities and visitors are scarce, the
method of handling the dead adheres to former
[775] usage. Things must be prepared for the soul
of the deceased. This is done by those known
as the *já:* three adults if an adult died, or three
girls, or three boys, such as the case may be.
Cotton must be placed inside the body bundle
of a woman. Combs and other ornaments are
carried apart with the clothes of the dead.
Even if a person has a lot of clothes, all are
put in the grave. If a boy dies, a miniature
bow and arrow are substituted for the cotton.
But when the deceased is a man, in addition to
this, they place a miniature blow gun, fish
hook, and digging stick in the bundle. This
[768] is done in order to leave the real ones for
the family's use. A net carrying bag is also
placed with the dead man.

**First Burial.** When death takes over, the
[767] entire retinue of officials begin their work.
Of course, customs vary depending upon the
[656] geographical location. Government and ecclesiastical
authorities have prohibited the funda-
[797] mental part of the ancient rites, that is, the
keeping of the dead for a year before burial.
Usually, the body is left in the house for about
twenty-four hours by both the Bribri and
Cabécar who are located near non-indigenous
villages on the Caribbean side. The personal
belongings of the deceased, either in effect
or symbolically, and cacao paste are placed
beside the corpse which is then wrapped in
*mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth) and tied with a
cotton string made especially for this purpose

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[767]
[583] tion between *sini* and *sinąbwak?* (*See* Social Organization.)

[109] Gabb, 1875, p. 508.

[110] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[111] Pittier, 1938, p. 17.

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764 (*see* Fibers). They cover the bark cloth with the leaves of white *bijagua* (*murksí*) and tie [824] it again with the special string. Leaves of the white *bijagua* are essential for the dead. They [264] are not used to wrap or serve food as is the black *bijagua* (*bikuLəkə*) because they have a faint taste and odor. After the feast the bundle is "buried" in the forest. In effect, it is covered with briar bushes and branches or is even placed in a shallow grave.

Gabb [112] gives a description of two deaths he witnessed among the Bribri in the second half of the past century.

In 1947, the writer had the opportunity to be present at a ceremony for a little girl in Cabécar, the account of which follows. When we arrived at the house, a small ceremonial fire called *bamburu* had been made and beside it the *já* had placed a gourd filled with water. As we entered, they put another gourd filled with *chilate*, a preparation of ground maize, ripe bananas, and water, on a white *bijagua* leaf by the fire as well as a cotton burr and a little raised-rim grinding stone with a pestle on top.

Some cotton without seeds was tied with *pita* to a stick. There was also a *mochila* or net carrying bag with two small gourds filled with ground cacao and ground maize, respectively 775 (fig. 11, *b*). The belief is that the soul goes below where the sun comes from. When the sun rises, the soul goes along with it to the sky but always returns below. The food set by the fire is needed for this journey.

764 The *bika'kra* or Organizer of the Feast put this food on the raised shelf where the body was lying hidden by a banana leaf screen made with a pole frame. Then he undertook the task of seeing that there was enough food for the people present.

The grieved mother, a widow, remained apart from everyone, sitting at the very edge of the house, grimly silent. As long as the dead was there, custom decreed that she could not do a thing, neither eat, except to drink chocolate, nor talk at length. She also had to be bathed with hot water by a woman after the body was removed. Meanwhile the Organizer of Feasts arranged the banquet which various women were preparing over a big fire inside the house. He also fixed the raised shelf which was rather fragile.

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[112] Gabb, 1875, pp. 497-99.

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765 Death feasts depend upon the means of the family of the deceased. On this occasion there were chocolate and coffee, plantains roasted in their skins, chickens, and pigs.

764 When it came time for the body to be bundled for disposal, the mother lay down on leaves and wrapped herself in *mastate* after which she remained motionless as if no longer alive.

[868] The Burier, aided by a boy apprentice, took leaves of the white *bijagua* and passed them over the fire so that they became soft and pliable. He sat on a low bench and removed the thickest part of the stem with a machete, putting the prepared leaf on another bench in front of him. He also had vines to tie the outer part of the bundle and wide pieces of bark cloth to cover the whole.

[415] The Burier, the Organizer of Feasts, and the mother were given a drink of chocolate in boat-shaped cups made of black *bijagua* leaves. The mother sat up quickly when offered the drink and moaned out loud in a little singsong artificial voice. When she finished the chocolate, she said a few words of thanks to the people present and became silent again.

The Burier washed his hands with water from a gourd and piled the banana leaves from the *tapesco* screen on the ground. He measured the size of the body with a stick and with a leaf. Then he put wide strips of *burio* fiber over the leaf.

[177] [767] An old woman, dressed in machine-made material decorated with a striped design to resemble a woven skirt, appeared as a professional mourner. While the Burier proceeded with his preparations, she went into the nearby bushes and began to wail in a loud singsong. [852] The children present screamed from fright at this unaccustomed noise, and most of the men left to fix the temporary resting place. During all this, the mother remained motionless under her *mastate* covering on the ground.

On top of the banana leaves and the *burio* strips, the Burier piled the *bijagua* leaves so that they overlapped, making one great sheet. He stamped on them so that they became more pliable. Then he took the corpse bundle which was tied with the hand-rolled cotton string and some vines and placed it on top of the leaves. As he folded the leaves over the bundle, he took the cotton from the stick and placed

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764 it in between them. He tied the whole twelve times around and once down the center with the *burio*. The wailing of the mourner continued. The Burier next took a pole and laid it lengthwise down the center of the body tying the bundle to it but leaving a piece projecting at each end to serve as a handle. His helper took the fire from where it had been used to flex the leaves and added it to the ceremonial one which had the food for the [775] dead beside it.

At this moment, the mourner came into the house and seeing what was taking place, yelled in a frightful voice and again disappeared into the bush screaming her singsong chant. She soon returned and gazed at the body bundle which lay wrapped and tied to the stick on top of a banana leaf.

The apprentice and the Burier cleared the remaining banana leaves from the screen, the Burier alone putting them in a pile in a plantain patch adjoining the house. He then took three cockroaches and wrapped them in a small leaf placing the whole in between the [825] leaves of the body bundle. This was supposed to rid the house of roaches for at least six months.

The apprentice took the objects from beside the ceremonial fire, leaving the gourd with water and the leaf with *chilate*. The Burier took the clothes of the girl and a stick. He put some of the *chilate* within the leaves of the body bundle but left the greater portion with the water at the spot where the child died as [775] food for the spirit which they believe returns to the house for three days after death. During this period, it always makes noise and has been known to molest the household.

The Burier and the apprentice set forth with the corpse, food, and personal effects of the dead. On the way to the place where the body was to be left, wherever a path crossed the main trail, sticks were cut to bar the [775] possibility of the spirit wandering from the road when going from the resting place of the body to the home. The procession went to a thicket about 500 yards from the dwelling. Here a pretense was made to bury the bundle, the earth and stones being lightly put aside so that a shallow depression remained at the roots of the thorny bushes.

[997] [184] On the Pacific side, cemeteries have been

[P.33(B)]

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764 blessed by the Roman Catholic priest, and the
[797] dead are buried in the earth shortly after life
ceases. The medicine man and the Burier are
[184] the only persons to touch the body, however. The preparations, including a funeral feast and the blocking of cross roads on the main trail, are carried out by both Bribri and Cabécar with much of the detail noted in Talamanca.
[184] A plank of wood under the body, chiefly in Ujarrís, or the body wrapped in *bijagua* leaves or a cloth were the usual procedures on the Pacific side before placing the dead in the grave. The writer was present, however, at
[177] Cabagra in 1956 when a coffin was used for the first time. The school gave the planks and nails and lent the hammer for its manufacture. A description of this death and burial follows.

As soon as the woman died, a rope wick was lighted by the body. Everything immedi-
768 ately around the deceased, such as her bed
764 which was made of cane poles and a reed mattress, a sack which was over the bed and upon which she lay, were removed by the Burier. On this occasion there were three Buriers and one apprentice. The bed and mattress were thrown over a cliff, and the sack was used to line the coffin. The corpse
764 was wrapped in a cheap cotton blanket by the Buriers and put in the coffin. The best dress of the departed, one of blue cotton cloth with yellow dots, was placed on top of the wrapped body and the planks for the cover were nailed on.

During this whole procedure, the family disappeared and none of the stand-bys would look at what was happening. When the coffin was ready, a girl took branches which had been cut for the purpose and outlined a path stretching from both doors of the house to the main trail. The Buriers then tied the coffin onto a litter with rope. As soon as this was done, the girl went ahead down the trail to the cemetery, blocking any opening in the path with branches. When a river had to be crossed, branches were placed on the rocks and at the shallow edges to mark the way so that the soul could
[775] not stray on its journey back to the house from the grave. The Buriers followed with the coffin. One carried a wooden cross, a lighted wick made of *mastate* (*see* Bark Cloth), and an unlighted candle.

At the cemetery, the wick and the candle

[P 34(1)]

Bribri
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764 were placed at one end of the spot where the grave was to be dug in such a manner that when the wick burned out the candle lighted. At the other end, the cross was put up. When the hole was ready, the coffin was lowered and covered with dirt. Then everyone returned to their respective houses except the few people who had been near the woman at death or had accidentally touched anything near her after she died. In this case, there were only the Buriers, the apprentice, and one man.

[783] These persons were considered unclean and had to be purified. The medicine man, who [756] was also a Burier but had not assisted at the death, took over. First, he had them bathe in the river, and then, before entering the house, he put hot water in cups made of *bijagua* leaves and poured it over their hands and arms up to their elbows. Inside, chocolate, yuca, and [775] maize were left in gourds for the soul to eat when it returned in the night, and there it stayed for nine days. A feast was prepared for [765] the ninth day and the motions of saying the [177] rosary were carried out as no one really knew the entire prayer.

765 On the tenth day, the *seté hrwak* ceremony was observed. Fire was lighted with a stone and *cabuya* (*see* Fibers) wick. This was taken to the cemetery. Among the Talamancan Bribri there is a similar ritual, but the fire must be of cacao wood. Then four cacao beans, four grains of white maize, four *ayote* (pumpkin) seeds, four roosters (because the [825] dead was female, chickens are for the males), and four gourds of chicha were placed in the house for the departed soul. The number is [801] important as *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) is supposed to have put four of everything in the world. The task of the Singer was performed [767] by the medicine man and the Buriers, four in all. The history of the deceased was chanted: [533] how she looked; what she did; how she played and planted; where she went on vacations or trips; what she bought and had; in truth, everything pertaining to her life. During this chant the medicine man and the Burier remained apart on two benches placed at the west. This ceremony began at 3:00 P.M. and ended at 11:00 P.M. with a feast of yuca, *tiquizque*, meat, chocolate, and chicha.

**Funeral and Bone Burial.** Attention has already been called to the custom of burying the bones

[P.34(B)]

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765 of an individual a year or more after death.
The best description of such an event is presented
114 by Gabb who assisted at the bone burial
765 of the last famous "King of Talamanca,"
Santiago. This has the historic value of an
[649] eyewitness report of a ceremony which today
is impossible to duplicate, and forms an essential
contribution to the cultural background
of these people.[113]

765 Only in upper Talamanca and upper Chiripó
[184] is this type of funeral still practised, and
at that secretly, because it is prohibited by
[754] the Costa Rican authorities. The dwelling of
the medicine man takes the place of the "casa
[756] grande" or big house which was used for the
purpose of ceremonials in connection with
such burials. Here the bones are taken from the
leaf bundle and wrapped in *mastate* by the
Burier. Then this is placed on a long bench
539 beside the doorway. The medicine man sings,
765 mentioning *sibu* and recounting the life of the
deceased and all his actions, for example: how
he planted, worked, what he did, and where
he went. The song also gives the reason for
his death. If the dead was female, the song
[535] recounts her doings. A feast follows and sometimes
a dance.[114] To the beat of drums (*see*
765 Musical Instruments) and rattles, the people
and the medicine man accompany the Buriers
[964] who carry the bone bundle to the graveyard.
Generally, this is situated on a ridge or near
the headwaters of a stream. Here are located
the clan graves known as *pų*. These are deep,
round holes lined with four planks of an extremely
[824] hard wood (*Xanthoxylum* sp. called
*suri* in Cabécar) which does not rot easily.
The Bribri line the bottom with stones, but
the Cabécar do not bother to do this. The
Bribri are more particular than the Cabécar
in that the bones should not in any way touch
the earth. An additional plank is inclined over
[614] the top as further protection. Each clan has
its own grave which is used until it is full.
[178] Today, however, clans that are allowed to
inter-marry are buried in the same shaft. The
Burier removes the planks of the grave and
puts the bone package in with his hands while
the medicine man sings, explaining that now
the soul has gone and will never return. Afterwards,
[273] he arranges the planks as before. Chicha

[113] Gabb, 1875, pp. 500-501.
[114] Pittier, 1938.

765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[279] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
[982] (text continues TOP of P. 35(B)—Analyst)
[825]

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed
from moieties. Although a number of clans
have disappeared through war and sickness,
those which remain strictly follow the ancient
rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
582 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige
614 of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not
compulsory. One can marry the mother's
brother's child but never the offspring of the
maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond
the father's sister and the first cousins, one can
marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of
these peoples. According to this there are three
great sins which are placed in the following
order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded instead of killing it rapidly.
[224] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the
[177] Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
regard to marriage is illustrated by the forma-
614 tion of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many
clans have died out due to measles and yellow
fever epidemics, and the always present
amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group
has been formed which is known as *terú*. This
started when a Bribri man belonging to the
*uniwak* clan married a Térraba woman. The
Cabécares are less inclined to form new divisions. Those who have inter-married with the
[166] Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see*
list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated
with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

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[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

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765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

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614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
[756] Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-
[422] *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
sometimes assumes this role although the most
[627] usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[184] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
[423] or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their
Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa
Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
[565] high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable.
Only one clan of these remains today (*see*
Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri
and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were
passed from the "King" to him for decisive
action. On such occasions, he retired to a
secret and sacred cave which had much *pita*
(*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had
sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at
his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half
614 of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
177 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-

[P 36(A)]

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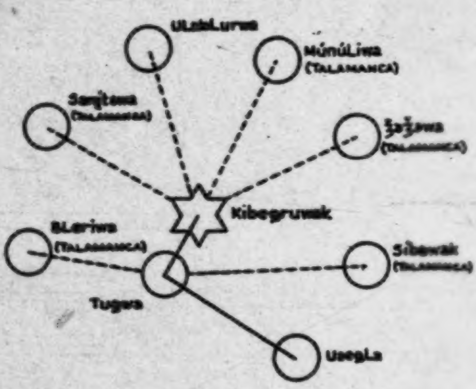

a, Nine Cabécar clans and their marriage relationships.

[128]

*Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships*
*Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Santoro, University of Costa Rica*

The circles bear the name of the different clans.

All are found on both sides of the range except those indicated by the name Talamanca.

The complete lines which unite the center of the circles and the star represent the possibility of marriage between clan members of both sex.

The dotted lines leaving the center of a circle signify a clan whose males can marry women in the

[Text continues middle of p. 36(B)--Analyst]

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manca, and on the Pacific slope. This clan does not accept Christian baptism nor marriage, remaining socially aloof.

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[565]
Indeed, we found that the clans and the professions connected with them functioned in a sense as social classes (*see* The Medicine Man). This is characteristic also in the elaborate ritual associated with death (*see* Death, Funeral, and Bone Burial). Certain clans are still associated with professional or social standing[117] (*see* The Medicine Man and The Singers) or with given trades, for example, among the Bribri the *durrìwak* are noted for their hammocks and carrying bags. The *uniwak* made pottery and it is said that in the Lari region they still do. Likewise, food tabus are

262
614
[643]

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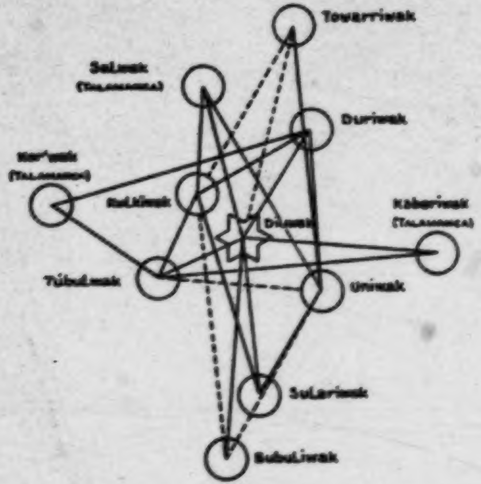
[117] The *saLwak* and *tsirrurìwak* were associated with the Kings as well as the *brupawak.*

[P.36(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

614
582



*b*, Eleven Bribri clans and their marriage relationships.

*Key to the Diagrams of Clan Marriage Privileges and Relationships*
*Prepared by Dr. Gustavo Sattoro, University of Costa Rica*

clan where the dotted line stops at the circumference. These marriages are not reciprocal.

The central star represents the clan with the most numerous and varied privileges of marriage.

In the diagram, the distance of the circles from the star indicates in reverse the number of marriage possibilities of each clan.

614
262
192

maintained by certain groups (*see* Tabus), the *túgwa* being one clan who can eat anything.

The Bribri tribe has a number of words which define more clearly their social organization. *séką́* means "our place" and *sénukur* means "to live." *sésénukur* signifies "place where we live." *ką́* also stands for Talamanca. *pé* or *épé* means "blood" or "any people" in the sense of "us." *dítsə* means "seed." The people whom one can marry are called *suwəet* meaning "other group." [118]

[582]

[614]

101

On the Caribbean side, the Bribri word for clan is *séwak* meaning "our group or seed."

The Cabécares call the Bribri *bribriwak* while the Bribri use the term *kabékiwak* for the Cabécares. This can also be translated

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[118] In the Cabécar, *dətsəwak* means "same group." *sébetətar* is "other group."

[P. 37(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

101 192 614 "Cabécar owners." The Cabécar call their language *səktə* or *sejektə* = our tongue. This is composed of *sé* or *seje* (our), and *ktə* (language). *je* is for the sound only. There are still numerous clans, some of which are listed below.

The Bribri clans existent in 1954 on the Pacific side of the range are the following:

duriwak (bird water people)
diuwak (sun people)
kuLkíwak
uniwak (pot or vessel people)
bubuLiwak
sulariwak
túbuLwak [119] (*flame* people)
towarriwak

The Bribri clans in the upper Lari region are:

tsiruriwak (cacao people. This is originally a Cabécar group and is found among the Chirripó).
kúmbuwak
kəberiwak (snake river people, by the Uren River)
ruLgikwak
kor'wak [120] (stagnant water is *kor'*) pronounced on the Caribbean side as korkwak.

Those Bribri clans by Amubré in the Talamanca Plain, are: [121]

saLwak
duriwak
túbuLwak
kəberiwak
uniwak

Bribri clans by Shiroli in the Talamanca Plain by the Sixaola or Teliri River, are:

síbawak
mogriwak
kəbériwak
mediwak
brupawak
túgwa (mixed, Bribri and Cabécar)

614 554 611 The *túgwa* seems to have been originally a Cabécar clan taken over by the Bribri in parts of the Talamanca Plain. It is one of the highest in rank, classifying in the Spanish sense as nobles. Because of this, exceptions seem to have been made, at least in the Talamanca Plain, for children may consider themselves [851] members of their *father's* clan in spite of the fact that the father has married outside of his people

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[616] [119] Pittier, 1938, p. 19, claims that this is one of the two divisions of the Bribri tribe. He uses the spelling *túbor-uak*. This is a clan today.

[120] This is the other division of the Bribri according to Pittier, 1938, p. 19.

~~600~~ 614 582 [591] people. As has been noticed earlier, a Cabécar married to a non-Cabécar does not live with those of his own tongue. There were a number of cases in the Shiroli Creek region where this was true, and in one exceptional case, special permission was granted to a *túgwa* to marry a *brupawak*, or a woman belonging to the clan of the now deceased Talamancan kings (*see* History). This was said to have been allowed because the *túgwa's* mother had been a *mediwak* and the *mediwak* can marry the *brupawak*.

Another group whose origin appears to have been Cabécar is the *síbawak* (*see* The Singers). This is also associated with the Talamanca-side.

In the Talamanca Plain, the túgwa can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak;[122] mediwak; all Bribri clans.

The síbawak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

The mogriwak can marry: síbawak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The brupawak can marry: síbawak; mogriwak; kəbériwak; mediwak.

The kəbériwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak.

The mediwak can marry: túgwa; murmuriwak; brupawak; suLariwak.

[182] The Cabécar clan organization has degenerated rapidly. On the Pacific side, only two large groups appear: *kibegruwák*[123] and *uLabLurwa* in Ujarrás and China Kichá; although one *usegLa* has inter-married with a Bribri in Cabagra and there is a *túgwa* in China Kichá.

In Talamanca, the existing clans are: usegLa, túgwa, kibegruwák, bLeriwa, sənį́tswa, ǯəǯəwa, síbawa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

túgwa can marry: kibegruwák, bLeriwa, síbawa, usegLa.

A kibegruwák woman can marry: túgwa, sənį́tswa, ǯəǯəwa, múnúLiwa, uLabLurwa.

601 **Kinship Terminology.** Gabb[124] points out that cousins are called brothers and sisters and those of a wife or husband, brother and sister-in-law.

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[563] [121] A new clan of Bribri and Negro mixture has recently been formed in the plain and is known as *dogcreek*, the place the Negroes came from.

[122] *See* Bribri term for Cabécares.

[123] This is also pronounced *kibegruwa*.

[124] Gabb, 1875, p. 497.

[P.38(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

601 There are distinct designations for relatives depending upon which side of the family they belong: whether on the mother's or the father's side. However, there is more than one way by which to denote certain relationships.

## KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

### Bribri

### *Female Line*

*Reference Terms*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʒeami | Mo | Literally: *ʒe* (my) *ami* (mother); *be* (your or you) can be substituted for *ʒe* in all cases. |
| ʒeʒéuj | Fa Mo Mo | Literally: *ʒe* (my) *ʒé* (father) *uj* (grandmother) |
| ʒeuiʒé | Mo Mo Fa | |
| nauʒum | Si So<br>Si Da<br>Br So<br>Br Da | |
| ʒeamjeL | Mo Si | |
| ʒeamjeke | Mo Br | |

*Reference and Direct Terms*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| uj | Mo Mo | |
| ujami | Mo Mo Mo | |
| sibaʒem[125] | Mo So Da<br>Mo So So<br>Mo Da So<br>Mo Da Da | |
| nsú | Mo Br | (rarely direct) |

*Direct Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| amiLa | Mo Si |
| nauʒeke[126] | Mo Br<br>Cousins (male) |
| amiLaʒeke[127] | Mo Si<br>Cousins (female)<br>Mo Br Wi |
| taLá[128] | Mo Mo Br |

### *Male Line*

*Reference Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| ʒeʒéduá | Fa Wi Br<br>Fa Si Hu |
| ʒemjduá | Mo So So |

---

[125] Is term Mo Mo *or* Mo Mo Mo uses when she speaks to grandchildren.
[126] Rare.
[127] Also reference term.

[P. 38 (B)]

Bribri

601

[582]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Mo Da So | |
| | Mo Fa Fa | |
| ʒeduóamį | Fa Mo Mo | |
| | So Mo | |
| | Da Mo | |
| | Da | (rarely used) |
| duóʒeke | Fa Fa | |
| | Fa Fa Br | |
| | Fa Fa Fa | |
| | Fa Mo Fa | |
| | Also signifies people one can marry, i.e., people who are not "our" family. | |
| ʒeʒe or ʒiʒé | Fa | Literally: *ʒi* or *ʒe* (my) *ʒé* (father); *ʒi* is used at times instead of *ʒe* because of sound. *be* (your) can be substituted. |
| ʒeduóʒé | Fa Fa Fa | |
| | So | (rarely used in this sense) |
| ʒeʒékutá | Fa Si | |
| ʒeʒéeL | Fa Br | |
| éLie or éL | Fa Br So | |
| | Fa Si So | |
| | Distant male cousins | |
| kutá | Fa Br Da | |
| | Fa Si Da | |
| | Si | |
| *Reference and Direct Terms* | | |
| duó[129] | Fa Fa | Reciprocal in all cases. |
| | So So | |
| | Da So | |
| | Da Da | |
| | So Da | |
| | Mo Fa | |
| | Mo Fa Fa | |
| duaLa[130] | Fa So Da | |
| | Fa Da So | |
| | Fa So So | |
| | Fa Da Da | |
| *Direct address* | | |
| kaʒéke | Fa Si | |
| ʒé | Fa | |
| ʒéLa | Fa Br | |
| úʒék | Fa Mo | Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex. |
| duwɔ | Fa Fa | Reciprocal with grandchildren regardless of sex. |
| ʒeaLaʒéke[131] | Fa Br | |

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[128] No term for male side.
[129] Very rarely used as direct address.
[130] Used by paternal grandmother to grandchildren.
[131] Rarely used.

Bribri

### *Both Lines*

601 *Reference Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| aLabusi[182] | Da or girl |
| naŋʒum | Si So |
| | Si Da |
| | Br So |
| | Br Da |
| kabo | Term used by distant female cousins when speaking of male cousins. Is very affectionate. |
| [192] akreʒeke | The word means *old* and is applicable to persons or things. |
| aLa[183] | sibling (child) |
| | So |
| [582] soʒámi | Our family or our people. One cannot marry them. *sa* (our). |
| ʒeaké | Si referring to Br (female ego). |
| ʒoeL | Reciprocal between sisters. |
| | Reciprocal between brothers. |
| | Reciprocal between brothers and sisters. |
| ʒekutá | Br referring to Si (male ego). |
| taʒe | Br referring to Si (very affectionate term). |
| | Cousins |
| kutaʒeke | Male referring to distant female cousins. |
| kutaie | Male referring to distant female cousins. |

*Direct Address*

| | |
|---|---|
| eL[184] | Br |
| | Si |
| | Mo Si So |
| | Mo Br So |

### *Terms Denoting Sex*

| | |
|---|---|
| 192 aLakerpa | woman (any age) |
| aLawebLa | man |
| aLaduLaken | boy |
| duLaduLa | youth; young (only applicable to males) |

### *Non-Blood Relatives*

601 *Reference and Direct Terms*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| nodki | Da Hu | Wi Fa |
| ʒák | So Wi | Wi Mo |

[182] *busi* signifies "young" or "new" and is applicable only to the feminine sex.

[183] My child is *ʒeLa*.

[184] Reciprocal between brothers and between sisters. Brothers cannot call sisters this nor vice-versa. Is

[P.39(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

601

| | |
|---|---|
| aLakər | Wi |
| wəm | Hu |
| ʒéʒike | Mo Hu (stepfather; rarely direct) |
| məLa | Br Wi (between women only) |
| dəbəkət[185] | Wi Si Si Hu |

*Direct Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| duá | Si Hu to Si Hu (reciprocal between brothers-in-law only) |
| aLaʒeke | Used by stepfather or stepmother for spouse's children. |

## Cabécar[186]

### *Female Line*

*Reference Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| miku | Mo Mo |
| s mikú mina | Mo Mo Mo Mo |
| s ʒiba mina | So Mo<br>my wife |
| aLagLə | Wi or woman |
| s ʒiba busí mina | Da Mo<br>my wife |
| s mina kaga | Mo Fa |
| s miku kaga | Mo Mo Fa |
| s mina kuta | Mo Si |
| s mina eL | Mo Br |
| s mina | Mo |
| wąjbə | Si Da |
| nujbə | Si So |
| tLa | Si Da ch<br>Br Da ch |
| duəwa | Fa Si Da (are available for marriage with Mo Si So) |
| ʒís tachi jengəta[187] | Mo Fa |

### *Male Line*

*Reference Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| s kaga tachi | Fa Fa Fa<br>Fa So So |
| juʒəguə | Fa Mo |
| miku[188] | Fa Mo |
| s kaga kuta | Fa Si |
| s kaga eL | Fa Br |
| kaga | Fa |
| s kaga kaga | Fa Fa |
| dəbai | Br So (also direct)<br>Fa Br (reciprocal) |

*Reference Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| eL | Br |
| kuta | Si (usually youngest) |

*reference* term between male or female cousins.

[185] Reciprocal only between women.

[186] Throughout: *ʒís* or *s* alone signifies "my."

[187] *Jengəta* signifies "own."

[188] This is rarely used for father's side.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.40(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cabecar

601

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʒís kibí | Elder Br | |
| ʒís bacha | Youngest Br | |
| ʒís kuta nuLej | Eldest Si | |
| ʒís kuta tsisekek | Youngest Si | |
| ʒís kuta bacha | Youngest (last) Si *or*<br>Si youngest Da | |
| ʒís eL bacha | Youngest (last) Si *or*<br>Br youngest Da | |
| sibaiba | Mo Mo So<br>Mo Mo Da | |
| ʒiba | Da<br>So<br>child | |
| ʒibabusí[180] | Da<br>young girl | |

*Reference Terms*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ʒiba jiʒiʒi | So<br>Hu of Da | |
| dabai | Stepson; Br of the uncle<br>Stepdaughter; Si of the aunt | |
| dəbə | Si Da Hu<br>Br Da Hu | |
| dəbəguae | Br Wi<br>Hu Si | Reference and direct |
| dwa | Si Hu<br>Hu Br | Direct. Reciprocal between men. |
| mą | Br Wi<br>Hu Si | Direct. Reciprocal between women. |
| nuąki | Hu Fa<br>Wi Fa | |
| ʒak | Hu Mo<br>Wi Mo | |
| klawa | Cousins (female) | |

*Direct Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| ʒís kaga | Fa |
| ʒís kaga eL | Fa Br |
| ʒís kaga tsisekek | Fa youngest Br |
| nuí | Mo Br<br>Fa Br |
| kaʒigue | Fa Si (also reference)<br>Mo Si |
| ʒís tsisekek | Youngest Br |

### *Both Lines*

*Direct and Reference Terms*

| | |
|---|---|
| eLwa | Fa Br sibling<br>Mo Br sibling<br>Fa Si sibling<br>Mo Si sibling |
| tachi | Mo Fa (reciprocal)<br>Fa Fa |

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[192] [180] *busi* means "young" and is used only for the feminine sex.

[p. 40 (B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

601

| | |
|---|---|
| tachiwa | Mo Fa Fa<br>Fa Fa Fa<br>So So<br>So Da<br>Da So<br>Da Da |
| mikuwa | Fa Mo Mo<br>Mo Mo Mo |

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to [614] the Talamancans. The clan has a given area for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] [423] pertains to personal effects and the house. When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife [429] remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[140]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In [437] fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

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[140] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

439 The principal items are lemons, which bring
[435] ₡8.00[141] per 100; oranges at ₡10.00 per 100;
alligator pears, from ₡0.20–0.25 each; and yuca
at ₡10.00 per quintal.[142] The sums received
are generally spent on cheap cotton cloth for
dresses; shirts and trousers; combs for adorning
the hair; iron cooking vessels; guns and gun
powder; patented medicines, etc.

464 The people on the Pacific watershed work
temporarily as day laborers in Potrero Grande
and Buenos Aires. They earn on the average of
[465] ₡5.50 per day clearing pasture lands, felling
trees, etc. The Bribri sell net bags to non-
439 Indians in the nearby settlements at a cost of
435 ₡2.00; hammocks at ₡15.00; agave rope (*see*
Fibers) at ₡0.25 a coil, ₡0.50 a twist. Maize
brings ₡2.00 a *cajuela;*[143] yuca ₡0.15 to ₡0.70
a pound; garlic and tobacco ₡1.50 a pound;
*pejibayes* are ₡0.10 a pound; bananas ₡1.50 a
stem. Coffee, the most important cash crop, is
sold almost exclusively by the Cabécares and
brings around ₡1.00 a pound. Rice is ₡40.00 a
quintal. Chickens sell from ₡0.50 up to ₡3.50.
Eggs bring from ₡0.25 to ₡0.30 apiece. The
size of the animal determines the price of pigs
and cattle. The highest for swine, however, is
₡100.00 and for a steer ₡250.00.

## RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 famous ones cross to this side of the range, or
177 in Salitre where some make their home. The
Indians themselves often go to Talamanca from
484 the Pacific side because the Chinese and other
merchants in Buenos Aires ask too much for
756 patent remedies. It should be remembered that
behind the fanfare and the to-be-expected
757 magical covering or hocus-pocus of the medicine
man, lies astute common sense. Strict diets
[262] are generally part of the cure. These include
the prohibition of salt, coffee, chocolate,
chicha, and, more often than not, meat. The
756 position is not hereditary although a medicine
man's son can become one and frequently does.
Study and knowledge of forest lore are
requisites, and any bright boy who wants to
study and has enough money or produce to pay
a teacher can, with time, become a medicine

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[143] This, in Costa Rica, represents 32 pounds.

[P. 41(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[Text continues top of P. 41(B)–Analyst]

## RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the nonmaterial culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[Text continues bottom of P. 41(B)–Analyst]

[435]

[141] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.

[142] Usually 100 pounds.

[P. 42 (1)]

Bribri
Cabecar

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a
recognized curer who is willing to teach and
adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabé-
[614] car, an aspirant must belong to one of the
following clans: túgwa, bLeriwa, síbawa,
sənʃtswa, ǯəǯəwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred
[198] songs with words in an ancient or secret
language unknown to the general public. These
[778] last are akin to prayers and are sung to the
sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares.
Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri
[754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft
and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and
[436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-
Indians always pay in cash.

756 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Tala-
778 mancan religion begins with the great God
known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things
776 and is behind all happenings. One of the most
important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

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[illegible] Aguilar P., 1953.

[illegible] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Ocón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

756 Cabécares, its origin dates from before the
778 birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned
a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor.
[776] It is interesting to note that wooden staffs
which are obviously ceremonial have been
[172] found in caches associated with the Highland
archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano
[171] (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American
trait and are still used by medicine men among
the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the
Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and
medicine man staffs were carved as late as
the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish,
the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11,
*c*) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red
wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood.
There is a mystical connection between the
medicine man and his staff which is supposed
[787] to carry his curing power as well as contact
benevolent spirits who help him cure. In
Bribri it is called *biǯəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally
translated means: *biǯəbLə*, a term applied to
the songs of the medicine man in the night;
*kər* = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine
men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used
756 for curing when the patient is in the last stages
755 of an illness and nothing else will work. This
[778] is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves
with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuǯeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey,
a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects
seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are
the medicine man's spirit helpers while some
[776] are malignant spirits who are thought to have
[753] caused the disease. This log is placed beside
the ill person whose hand is held by the curer
or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms
part of this ceremony.

756 Stones are another very special part of the
equipment, the origin of which is also bound
778 up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs).
A medicine man may have any number of
stones but there are two principal ones with
a covering name which is sometimes mistaken
by laymen as a third stone. This collective

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It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.

[146] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 term is *sią́* or *sienkúsuwa*. Individually, they are
called *kúsuwa* or *dikúsuwa; sorkúsuwa* or *sorkú-*
778 *suwa*. They resemble small river stones and are
[172] sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves.
Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to
the medicine man on special occasions, or are
handed down as a sacred heirloom by a col-
[428] league who must also belong to the same clan.
When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish
to give his own stones to a young professional,
his brother or clan keeps them until a new
doctor has need of them.

[755] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without
these two stones although other ones are also
used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild
pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being em-
[224] ployed for curing, are used to call the par-
ticular animal when one hunts and it is for this
reason the Indians say that medicine men never
lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aiik* (*Aracea*
sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing
paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf
is used more as an indication of magic power
than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during
childbirth. Other articles which compose a
medicine man's equipment and which were left
[755] by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the
[237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a
lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the
feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quet-
zals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and
shells of which three are of particular impor-
tance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose
and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

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756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one
in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine
man, or by receiving one as a gift. This
[787] is extremely important because without a staff
contact with the spirit, *duLar*, the messenger
[776] of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged
medicine men can talk to *duLar*, but the
aspirant must see him alone in the forest with
his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience
during training as one must be absolutely
isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit
[787] by bit one can feel *duLar* approach. It is then
that the novice receives a spirit, taken from
someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man,
singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a
time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle,
quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis*
[825] *Episcopus Diaconus* Lessom), hawk, paraquet,
and parrot to the novice who also had his own
staff. The young man took the feathers and
tied them with a homemade cotton thread to
a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men
held staffs, and during the tying process, one
sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the
witnesses who had to answer the song by saying
"*ékéké*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men
sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a
[352] low, long bench called by the special name of
*sį́ąkure*, because on top of it the stones were
later placed. The chief sang to one assistant
over a small basket, called *sį́ąbko*, which held
the stones. These were wrapped in cotton
inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags.
He took them out and gave the basket to the
novice who promptly put the feathers in it.
The singing continued, interspersed with
joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

756 [352] head man placed five folded carrying bags, one with a stone inside belonging to the novice; a paper package; two stones; and the basket with the feathers. These stones were not part of the *sįę* and were handed to the chief medicine man by his wife. As each object was put on the bench, every medicine man and the aspirant had to put a hand on it. The principal medicine man took the basket and put it first on the stool and then on the earthen floor of the house and announced that it was time to rest. All got up.

At this point, the first wife of the head man handed him a gourd lined with banana leaves and filled with hot chocolate (unsweetened). He took it and all left the main house, singing, and went to a smaller one where there was a kitchen. There they said to two women who were cooking by the fire, "*įękeǰicbərką*" (here many people do not fit), and "*sįę tsurú ibaų sįę*" (*sįę* chocolate heat for *sįę*).

[824] Then they took a pile of *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen) leaves from a *tabanco* and brought it to the first house saying, "*ǯəbi* (this stands for *sįę*) *dibaLa* (chocolate hot; if *ǯəbi* were not before this word, it would mean water hot, but the name for the stones changes the meaning) *meką* (put)." This is a phrase used ceremoniously. Freely translated it signifies, "They are going to heat chocolate for *ǯəbi*."

The witnesses answered, "*ékéké*" (good).

The medicine men brought in the chocolate in an iron pot and placed it on the floor beside the bench with the stones, another bunch of leaves, and leaf-wrapped packages of white maize chicha. The *bijaguas* were to be used as cups for the chocolate. They said to those present, "Wait. We are going to serve the feast." All replied, "Good."

They brought in more leaves and a child came with water in a gourd. This was immediately taken by a medicine man and was placed on leaves on the floor beside the bench.

The first wife of the head medicine man and another woman sat on a long bench. They were to serve the feast. All women who participate in this ceremony must be old or at [187] least middle-aged. The men sat opposite on another long bench and the chief one began to chant, "*milkadioǯək*" (let's drink this). Each medicine man, always holding his staff and

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756 sitting on the bench, repeated this chant and as he did so, the principal one passed him chocolate in a leaf cup. More women joined the others on the women's bench facing the men. One woman then commenced to serve the drinks from the pot while a man stood and passed cups, holding his staff all the time. He started to sit down but all yelled at him and he jumped up as if he realized what was wrong. He then changed each cup from the left hand of one person to the right hand of the next person as they sat on the bench. In this way, each person received his neighbor's cup. It was important that this be done because the ceremony referred to *sibu*, and, therefore, the cup must be held in the right hand. Now all drank the chocolate and some even emptied part into the cups of those who drank faster.

As the standing man drank, the novice rose and offered him a drink, then he did the same to each man, the first wife continuing to pour the chocolate. While this was going on the head man sang.

Next chicha was passed in fresh cups of leaves in the same manner as the chocolate. This time the head man took a sip and divided the rest in his cup among the other men. The standing medicine man poured some of his into the women's cups. The novice repeated with chicha the same rite he had performed with the chocolate.

At this stage, the head man emptied all the carrying bags on the bench. Some had little ones inside and all had stones wrapped in cotton. There were as many as thirty stones including an opal. The head medicine man sang over them and exchanged some with the aspirant. There was one large marble over which the head man sang and then touched his own foot, knee and other parts of his body, telling the novice that he must sing to each part when one is sick as well as to the important stones and to the spirit who must talk to *sibu*.

A discussion over the merits of certain stones and an exchange took place among the medicine men, each one piling up his own heap. After the argument, every owner sang over his own stones. Meanwhile, the chief man sang over each stone in the center of the bench and as he touched one he sang to the novice. All the medicine men had to do likewise, facing

756 the largest stone on the bench. Most of the songs referred to certain birds in the woodland. As the aspirant cannot touch the stones until they have been put into his hands, each medicine man took the stones from the center and placed them in the hands of the novice.

[354] It was quite dark, so the first wife made a candle from beeswax, rolling it long, and tore a strip of cloth to wrap around it. When finished, it appeared very much like a licorice whip. She put this candle on the side of the bench so that it lit up everything on it.

The aspirant had had to fast all day within his room. Now two ears of white maize and one raw palmito (which is white) was put inside the room for later use.

At 2:45 A.M. the same ceremony with first chocolate and then chicha was held. This must be done four times during the night. [801] The number four is bound up with all semireligious acts as it is intimately connected with certain histories of *sibu* (*see* Legends). The head man put two pieces of cotton on top of a carrying bag. Then all went to the kitchen house and brought back a white chicken and a white rooster saying, "We are going to serve the feast" to each person. The witnesses answered, "Good." An iron pot containing bananas and palmito was brought in and the same statements were repeated. The first wife took another bundle of leaves from the *tabanco* and the women served rice and chicken in them. Again there followed the ceremony of the cup being changed from left to right.

At 4:00 A.M., two medicine men, including the chief one, went to the kitchen house with the novice, taking some *siik* leaves. They were followed by the first wife carrying a sick child. This was one of the important steps in the initiation because it showed the aspirant how to go about curing an ill person. The head medicine man took the novice by the hand and together they drew the leaves over the fire so as to soften but not burn them. They fanned the child with the leaves. During this process there was not a whimper from the patient. This was done four times and then the novice repeated it four times alone. The chief man stayed beside the pupil, however, and warned him not to burn the leaves. When [illegible] they crackled and popped as they were being drawn over the fire, it was considered a good

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756 [787] sign and that the novice would turn out to be a good curer.

After the fanning, the group returned to the main house and once more partook of the chocolate, food, and chicha. This time the aspirant took the place of the medicine man who passed the cups and was coached by the chief man.

The head man took a piece of cotton and picked up the pebblelike stones of the aspirant and sung over them. He wrapped them in cotton and put them in a small carrying bag with the largest of the stones on top. He placed this carrying bag in a bigger one and tied it up for the novice. He took another bag and lectured over it to one of the medicine men and then put it around his own neck. The other *jawá* picked up his stones and put them in the two carrying bags from whence they had come, while the chief man did the same with the stones of the others. Finally, he hung the bag belonging to the aspirant around the latter's neck.

[824] A medicine man, acting as assistant, brought the head man five leaves of *poró-poró* (*Cochlospermum vitifolium* [Willd.] Spreng.) who shaped one of them into a cup and put it on the small bench. He put a pinch of Honduras bark, *cáscara amarga* (*Sweetia panamensis* Benth.), on each of the other leaves piling them on top of one another. The rest of the medicine he tied up in a leaf and gave to the aspirant who put it in a carrying bag hanging on the wall. Both then moved to the entrance of the house and the novice went outside. The chief man poured water from a small special gourd into the *poró-poró* cup and the novice had to mix the bark from one of the leaves in it and wash out his mouth. This had to be repeated until the contents of each leaf was used. The medicine left in the carrying bag was to be used in the same way after four days, with the chief medicine man present. On that occasion, the new doctor must talk to the stones also.

When the mouth washing was over, the head man took the carrying bag of the novice from the wall and put it over the latter's shoulder so that it hung down his right side. He proceeded to give the young man two [352] new low benches made of white balsa wood and a white blanket which he wrapped around

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756 [352] [532] him. Both benches had four feet, but one had a protruding tail and head with a red spot. The two men then went outside and the chief doctor closed the door to keep others away. From within, one could hear the elder man's voice in a song which gradually became louder and louder.

According to custom, they sat on benches in front of the house and the head man sang to the novice. Two of the assistant medicine men went out to watch for the sunrise so that they could warn the chief that it was time to put the novice back in the hut.

When they came in, the aspirant took off his white blanket. The head medicine man took the feathers from the first carrying bag which was still on the low bench, some stones, a staff, [534] a jaguar skin, a long reed flute (*kuLu*) which only the medicine men can make and put these things in the leaf room. The two new benches were not included. Then the head man entered with the aspirant to arrange the details. When he came out, he said to the novice who remained inside, "You do not have permission to sleep, not even a little."

The aspirant had to stay in the room all the following day without sleeping because to be a doctor he must show his power of self control. In fact, this endurance test was explained by a simple question: if a medicine man were to have a very sick patient and fell asleep, what would happen?

The drinks and food were now passed for the fourth time with the same ceremony as [534] before. Then the head man blew a conch-shell horn right by the novice's wall and pushed the leaves. This was to be certain that he was not dozing. The aspirant was forbidden to talk, but he answered by blowing at times a conch-shell horn and at others a flute. Every now and then the other medicine men would poke their staffs at the wall and receive a blown attestation of his wakefulness or a knock. This continued throughout the day.

At night the ordeal ended and the novice could leave his leaf compartment and take his stones. However, he had to wait four days before he could finish the mouth-washing ceremony and become in truth a *jawá*.

758 **Sickness.** On the Caribbean side, but less often on the Pacific, a lean-to for a sick person is made of *pejibaye* leaves at one end of the

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758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of
thorns to keep innocent children from straying
into trouble, as no one except the medicine
man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept
within reach of the sick person by suspending
it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was
considered the key to all emotions, sickness,
753 and health. This is still true. The Cabécar
phrase for happy or the state of good health
signifies that the liver is in good condition.
[774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the
soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the
whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused
by the liver. Among the Bribri, however,
influenza is credited to *bák-namá* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these
peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with
subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially
among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis;
and malaria, particularly in Talamanca.
Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and
yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they
occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous
cases of male perversion. No social stigma is
attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other
medicines prepared from flowers and berries
are used.

752 A medicine for snake bites is made from
*Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from
824 *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is
mashed and cooked. This is combined with
the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and
is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been
757 noted, form a part of many cures although
they are also observed at times of death by
the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and
755 magical elements included in curing are songs
533 (prayers), always sung with the staff and the
stones. One of the prayers the medicine men
of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to
[787] combat sickness and to foretell if the patient
will live or die is given under the heading of
*Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the
medicine man sings for three nights and asks
*sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the
spirit to scare any more.

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[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

755 787 [776] The stones are also consulted for curing and for prophesying the result. When one of the *sią* is confronted with a question concerning the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu* who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No one, not even the greatest medicine man, has ever seen him. He confers with the stone and disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some medicine men say that they have heard his presence in the sense that in the dead of night, when waiting for an answer, there is sometimes a sound as that of a small chick.

784 [776] [783] **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see* Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanliness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost importance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes *bukLú* and if it is his bad luck to return ill, then it is very dangerous. The only way to remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all around the house, touching it with a stick, and then to do the same to everything inside. The Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and *ksiok* (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] [841] [843] [783] [752] The first menstrual period is particularly *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is ever free from tabu during this condition. A pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by this evil which requires a medicine man to cure or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the *bukLú* in her compel her to die.

[825] [779] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-

[Text continues top of P. 47(B)—Analyst]

## FOLKLORE

173 726 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn between legend and actual history. Events are reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men of the Cabécares still recount their version of war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150] The following is an Indian account of this event.

[Text continues bottom of P. 47(B)—Analyst]

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[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

784 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining
825 to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals
[779] have a plant name which is used when a hunt
[224] is planned. One does not say that he is going
to hunt a given creature. He announces that
he is going to look for yuca or *tiquizque*, as
the case might be. This is to deceive the pro-
[776] tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game
will not be warned. Each sickness is associated
753 with a distinct animal and is believed to be
825 sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is
[776] associated with a sickness that causes pain in
the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and
then death. The first women in the world had
[756] this illness. A medicine man passed the toad
over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad.
784 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch
825 toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see*
614 Death) are the only persons who can touch
buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill
262 the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct
[767] *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch
[775] tapir because it was the reincarnation of their
ancestors. The *sǝntruwa* and *mínúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *mínúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmbuwak*, *sulariwak*, and *ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

## FOLKLORE

### THE WAR BETWEEN THE CABÉCARES AND TERRIBÍS

(*Cabécar*)

173 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in
726 Cabécar. It was the time when people wore
only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

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remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

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Changuena

173 Cabécares, and only a very few managed to
726 escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[151] cleaned
them, and used them for cups. They cooked
[727] the heads and dried them well and then put
them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive
[727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of
the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

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[172] [151] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[648] [152] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

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Terraba

[P.48(B)]

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726 He slept near her and told her that if she saw a large jaguar or a large alligator in a pool, it would be him. Knowing that some *usegLa* had fled in the forest, the uncle further advised her to search for her relatives.

It happened as the uncle said, and the girl told all about it later.

## Vengeance for the Cabécares

### (*Cabécar*)

During the same war, the Terribís climbed trees to look for the Cabécares and Bribri. They would spot a *palenque* (house) and then sleep near it so as to make a surprise raid and kill everyone in the early morning. One day the Terribís went to the upper Estrella River without seeing a soul as all the people along the way had fled. Twenty-five Terribís paused on a hilltop and spotted a large *palenque*. They surrounded the dwelling and some guarded the roads to see where the people were.

Time passed. They heard the cocks crow but they didn't see a single person. This made them think that all the people were within the house. *Palenques* only have one door, so the whole twenty-five entered along with a large wasp which killed them all.

Thus it happened that when another Terribí, who had stayed behind to gather rope for hanging the heads the band expected to collect, tried to find his companions he failed. The truth was that there had never been a *palenque* at that spot on the upper Estrella, nor were there roads. It was part of a scheme of *sibu* against the Terribís. It was he who had sent the wasp to avenge the Cabécares.

## The War of the Changuinas[152] with the Talamancas

### (*Cabécar*)

The war between the Changuinas and the Cabécares was fought for such a long time that

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[648] Changuina River, a tributary of the Diquís or Rio Grande de Térraba. Here they had a tremendous battle with the Borucas and Cabécares of Ujarrás as the graveyards in the vicinity testify. *See* Stone, 1958, p. 45, fig. 1. Today, legend holds that the Changuinas are still at the upper reaches of this tributary, but that they disappear when one arrives.

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726
the medicine men of Ujarrás went to Talamanca to look for the best medicine man there.[183] He was known by the name of "He who taught medicine men." The medicine man converted himself into a combination of a jaguar-rat. The warriors, who accompanied him, brought arrows and joined those of Ujarrás. The great medicine man who appeared as a rat had his companions from Talamanca carry him in a cage over the cordillera. The people from Ujarrás met him and all went well armed, including females.

They met the Changuinas who had joined with the inhabitants of Cabagra (Bribri) on the other side of Buenos Aires [184] and had a terrific battle. The medicine man from Cabécar was more powerful than the one from Changuina, however, and the Cabécares kept winning.

[712] The wounded Changuinas and Cabagras (Bribri) went into a large underground house made of cut stone which served as a fort. The enemy followed them and made them march ahead while another encounter with the Changuinas and Cabagras was prepared.

The medicine man from Talamanca went ahead of everyone and his enemies allowed him to sit down. He sat on a wooden bench which immediately broke, so he sat on a stone one which did the same. The medicine man of the Changuinas seeing this grew afraid. He withdrew into the underground fortress. There was a saw which the Changuinas and Cabagras used to cut off heads of the people from Talamanca and Ujarrás. Then they gathered the blood and drank it calling it cacao. The medicine man of the Changuinas wanted to cut off his Talamancan colleague's head but he was not powerful enough.

It was then that the warriors from Talamanca and Ujarrás moved in. Seeing their medicine man seated on sticks and stones instead of a gold seat, such as the Changuinas had, they proceeded with such fury that the enemy became frightened. The Changuina's medicine man grabbed a gold seat in the shape of a horse and through magical means made it fly with him through a door which was in the center of the large building.

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[183] Cabécar, in Talamanca, is still the "seat of learning" for medicine men. (*See* Medicine Man.)

[184] I.e., south of Buenos Aires, above where the

[P.49(B)]

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Bribri
Changuena

173 726 The Talamancan medicine man also used his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[186] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured. [103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

**Historic Events.**

## The History of San José Cabécar

### (*Cabécar*)

173 776 [103] [614] *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried 173 776 [103] *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

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Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[186] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

### Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

173 The medicine men recount that the Span-
648 iards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

### Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

173 The last Bribri king adopted a young Tér-
597 raba (*brosbi*) boy and brought him up. He
was so very brave that he did not need a
[714] shield[187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

### The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

173 Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good
793 to the people. If someone laughed in front of
the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that
643 position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

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[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

173 Talamanca. This upset the medicine men.
793 They decided to protect the people and they
bewitched the *usegLa* and the King. That is
643 why there are none today.
[754]

### The Foundation of Cabagra

(*Bribri*)

173 The ancient Borucas made the original trail.
166 Over this came *teka*, the first man who came
to live in Cabagra. He left Talamanca because
643 of King *Berchí*[158] who took delight in severely
castigating the medicine men and ordering all
the people of the tribe. *Berchí* was a member
of the *sáLwak*[159] clan, so-called because he
had a monkey's tail, and anyone who laughed
at him he had beaten.

173 *teka* brought his whole family along to
166 Cabagra but they did not want to stay. He
returned them to Talamanca and came back
all alone. This trip took eight days. He was
not baptized, but later he was and received
173 the name of Ciriaco. We do not know his
797 family name. More people followed him and
settled in Cabagra because of King *Berchí*'s
cruelty.

A bishop came and rebaptized the population. Then he crossed the range to Talamanca accompanied by Térrabas, Borucas, and Cabagras.

### The Last Kings of Talamanca

(*Bribri*)
(*Recounted in the plain.*)

173 Santiago Umaña belonged to the *kumbum-*
643 *wak* clan. He was the last king of Talamanca
and wore a gold hummingbird called *batzín*
in Bribri. He sold Talamanca to foreigners for
money and went to England to receive it. He
sold the children of our people.

*Berchí* was another king. He was the one who tied the best men to a tree and beat them to punish them. *Berchí* belonged to the *sáLwak* clan. He killed Santiago.

[597]
[714]

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[157] Some Indians say turtle shell.

[158] *See* Appendix III: Antonio Saldaña.

[159] *sáL* is "monkey." *wak* is "race" or "seed" or "clan."

[P. 51(A)]

Cabecar
Bribri

## MYTHS

538
773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[160] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist
or architect. He thought of man and he made
us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking
775 of them. The good and bad people all go to
*sibu* when they die if their bones have been
sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait
for this, and if they are never sung to, then
a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians
and non-Christians go to the world below,
nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything
772 from beneath the earth to make place for the
776 Indians there. In this underground domain,
there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one
753 for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of
animals; one for Indians; one for the evil
spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners
or protectors of animals or the animals them-
[756] selves. This is one reason why the medicine
man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-

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776 [160] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[P. 51(B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by
spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many
776 of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are
malevolent. At one time or other, most have
had connections with *sibu*.

773 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god,
776 had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god
mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the
cultivation of plantains and maize and the
making of chicha. He also taught the people
how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He
is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca
and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and
Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective loca-
tions. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for
[614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan,
"seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name
came about because *suLá* ordered this group to
[775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned
upside down, and thus reach their heaven
which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ŋq* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tpmí* are guardians of animals. *Lgn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[1] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritəbś*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dínamą́* in Cabécar and *díkuŋ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bák-namą́* in Cabécar and *tsirule* in Bribri.[161] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuŋ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

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[1] [see category 116, p64. Analyst.]

[2] [see category 116, p56. Analyst.]

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *migucbké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *migucbké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tǫmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tǫmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tǫmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tǫmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives [753] people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

*mikubru* lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

*suLáy̌ibí* today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLáy̌ibí* was a person. He was lord of the

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[192] [101] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *ká* in Bribri and *nemą́* in Cabécar.

[102] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

[P. 52(B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the [484] [782] journey for the first time must leave a small fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from [487] Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at *surstsaṇku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

*urigaki* is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

**Theological Myths.** The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book;[a]

### (1) THE BIRTH OF *sibu*[162] (VERSION 1)

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 [776] *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

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[772] [163] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

[a] [See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

*539 The medicine men left her alone but decided that, during the night, they would find out the truth. The God-babe read their thoughts. As soon as they left the house, he advised the sacred stone, *sįį́*, that if the medicine men asked if he were God to answer "yes," and if they asked if he were a person to answer "yes."

At night, when the medicine men consulted *sįį́*, the stone replied as God had told it. With this answer, the men were confused and did not know what to believe. Thus, God was able to grow up; and when he was older, his enemies killed him.

## THE BIRTH OF *sibu*[164] (VERSION 2)

### (*Cabécar*)

*sibu* does not have a father but he has a mother. He entered inside a woman in the form of wind, but he himself went below the earth and returned in four days.[165]

The pregnant woman went to get water at the edge of a river. On the bank, she gave birth to *sibu*. The woman picked him up and took him home. There were his uncles who were great medicine men. They asked her where she had found the child. She replied that he was the chief foundation of the race. Then the uncles who were powerful medicine men suspected it was *sibu*.

While he was still a little child lying down, *sibu* thought that he would prophesy with the stone. He thought that the medicine men should leave the house so that he could talk alone to the stone. So the uncles left and *sibu* talked.

He told the stone that if the medicine men asked if he, *sibu*, were the son of God, to tell them that it seemed so. And if they asked again if he were God, the stone should answer that so it seems.

At dusk, the medicine men left to prophesy and consult the stone. The stone replied as *sibu* had instructed him. Then the medicine men stopped asking without learning that it was *sibu* but thinking it was a person.

*sibu* grew up and the enemies killed him.

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[164] *See* Linguistic Texts for this tale in Cabécar: *sibu tsikineL*.

[P.53(B)]

Cabecar

### THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539

There was no sky, so *sibu* made the sky. He brought a basket full of maize seed. There was no earth, so he kept the seed in his house and went to look for earth. All he could find was a hard rock and a bat hanging from it. Then he looked again and he found a little bit of earth.

*sibu* asked the bat, "What'll we do? What do you eat?"

The bat answered, "I eat fruit and from my feces comes earth."

*sibu* sent the bat to eat more, believing that the devil would cut the bat in half.

This is what happened, and the bat returned furious and said, "I go when I want to eat, but you sent me right away, and the devil was prepared."

*sibu* replied, "All right. I'll go and punish the devil. I'll get him to take out earth." And *sibu* entered the rock and went down to see the devil.

Then he decided to consult Thunder and sent a woman who was the Sea to talk to him and say, "Thunder, come, and we'll break rock so that people will make earth."

"No," answered Thunder. "I am waiting for all the people that *sibu* makes so I can eat them."

Repeatedly *sibu* sent Sea but with no result. Finally, however, Thunder agreed. He gave his "cacique staff" to Sea to carry, warning her not to leave it alone. On the way to tell *sibu*, however, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave the staff alone. I'll do it and see what happens."

Unfortunately, when she returned to the spot, the staff had disappeared, and when she searched for it a snake bit her. Now Sea was pregnant, and when this happened she died. After she was wrapped in her death bundle she began to swell: *sibu* put a frog on top of her to hold her down, but the frog grew hungry and jumped off to catch an insect. Sea then blew up into the sky and *sibu* changed her into a tree.

The tree kept growing and pierced the sky

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[188] The Cabécar-Bribri heaven is inside the earth (*see* Theological Beliefs).

* 539 which annoyed *sibu*. He sent to *okama*, a person who had tools, to fell it. *okama* was not very willing to carry out *sibu's* bidding until the latter said, "Listen to the sound of that tree. Soon it will break the air."

This convinced *okama* and he agreed to help down it. Then *sibu* told the deer to run and make a trail so that the tree could fall. This is the reason why the deer runs swiftly.

He sent the kingfisher and the cormorant with orders to take an end of the tree and make a large circle in the air until the two met. With that the tree fell and turned to water becoming the sea.

When the tree was in the sky, all the birds made nests in it. With its transformation into the sea, the nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles, and the leaves turned to crabs.

After this happened, Thunder broke a stone and from it pulled the large son of the devil and flattened him out in a round shape, making earth from him. This is why the earth is round.

Then *sibu* wanted to plant so he sent for a devil called Earthquake and said, "Move the earth."

Another devil, however, said to Earthquake, "Move the earth so that people will know that when there are earthquakes nothing will take root and sickness will come."

*sibu* liked the idea, so he planted wood and maize. The maize sprouted into men who were the Cabécares and Bribri. Then the bat asked, "*sibu*, how'll you pay me for being cut by the devil?"

"Oh," said *sibu*, "Just wait until there are people in the world and cows and pigs and horses. If you want to eat, you can eat these."

[825] "Thanks," replied the bat. And it is for this reason that the bat likes to suck the blood of animals and of men.

There were now men but nothing to eat. So *sibu* said that he would bring and plant large pumpkins (*ayote*), yuca, *tiquizque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), plantains, *ñame*, and alligator pears. He brought the pumpkins, and from them came *tepezcuintles* (*Cuniculus virgatus*). He brought *tiquizque*, and from it came the wild boar. He brought yuca, and from it came the fish. The large plantain turned to deer, the *ñame* to tapirs, and the alligator pear to monkeys.

[P.54(B)]

CAbecAY

+589 When the world was ready, he brought a woman from under the earth with each vegetable, and cut a piece off and gave it to the men. This is why man kills animals and woman cooks and divides them.

The first people to be born were the *usegLa* group. Then came the Rey or Kings, and after them the *túgwa*. From then on there was no order of appearance. All the other groups were born automatically. The *usegLa* were first because as man came from maize, *sibu* felt that a peon was needed to guard the maize. Therefore, he created the *usegLa* whose duty was to protect man from sickness, wild beasts such as the jaguar and the crocodile, and send rain, flood, etc. As the first to come were this group so they were the first to die, and bit by bit man will die off. *sibu* also caused the Rey or King clan to disappear, because they, like the *usegLa*, knew too much and controlled too many things. Both groups were so powerful that they could do much damage.

### (2) THE CREATION OF EARTH [100]

### (*Cabécar*)

At the beginning of the world, there was only rock and no people. *sibu* passed and noticed excrement in which plants were rooted. It occurred to *sibu* that this material was good to cover all the rocks so that there might be animals and plants of every kind. He hunted all over the rock to find what had left the excrement and discovered a vampire which had feet like a bird and walked like a bird.

*sibu* asked the vampire what he ate which caused his excrement to raise plants. The creature replied that he nourished himself on the blood of a little jaguar which he sucked when the mother was not present, and that this animal was to be found very deep below the rock.

*sibu* wanted the vampire to accompany him to see the young jaguar, but he could not penetrate the stone. He called his cousin, Thunder, to use his enormous shotgun. Thunder told *sibu* to kneel down and to close his ears. Then he shot three times at the rock and broke it.

[100] *See* Linguistics Texts: *ǰiluko* (earth) *ʒuneL* (made), which is a combination of this and the following myth.

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¥ 539 It was then that *sibu* saw that the little jaguar had his umbilical cord tied to his grandmother. *sibu* quickly cut it and carried him away. He rubbed the small animal on the rock and the creature went to pieces easily.

When the little jaguar's mother returned, she noticed that her son had disappeared and commenced to search for him. *sibu* had been prepared for such a move, however, and built a wooden deer which immediately turned into a real one and cried like a little jaguar.

The mother, thinking it was her beloved son, ran to meet him. When she found that she had been deceived, she stretched the legs and the neck. This is why deer have long necks and legs. And this is how earth was made.

### (2) THE MYTH OF THE EARTH MOTHER, *namą́basią́*

(*Cabécar but adopted by the Bribri*)

*sibu* thought of making earth so that men would have a place to plant because when he made the world it consisted only of rocks and stones. One day, *sibu* saw on a blue rock some bits of excrement in which a balsa tree had rooted and above these he noticed a bat hanging in the holes of the stone.

*sibu* asked the bat, "What did you eat?"

"I ate a little child," he answered.

"Where did you eat this because there are no people?" questioned *sibu*.

"I entered below the rocks," the bat replied.

*sibu* thought of going below the rocks to bring up the child who made earth so he called Thunder and Lightning to break the stones but without success.

The mother of this child was *namą́basią́*, the most valiant jaguar who guarded her offspring very carefully and had entered the world below with her followers. The jaguar was fooled, however, as she was called aside to grind cacao. While she was working, *sibu* pulled out the child from the underground world. On the way, he left the congo monkey (*Alouatta* p. *palliata*) and a deer to fool the jaguar.

In this manner, *sibu* brought earth to this world which he spread over the rocks so that man could plant.

## The Stars[187]

### (*Cabécar*)

*539
821

When *sibu* began to make the sky his house, he needed a vine with which to tie it. There was a large serpent with great whiskers who dwelt below in the east where the sun rises.

*sibu* said to him, "I want a whisker to tie my house because there are no vines, and you have such lovely whiskers."

Now *sibu* was the first born so his mother's umbilical cord was long. His staff was made from this, and his mother kept it until he needed it. He sent five men to the snake for a whisker, giving his staff to one of them. He told all that when the sun was hot they should say to the serpent, "Uncle-by-marriage, how do you sleep?"

They did this and the snake answered that when his eyes were closed, he was awake, and when his eyes were opened, he slept. "But why look at me from so near?" he asked in anger.

One man approached even more closely and pulled out a whisker. It was so large that it took twenty-five men to roll it up and carry it to *sibu*. However, the man who pulled the whisker died. *sibu* did not like this and brought him back to life.

*sibu* used the whisker to tie his house in the fashion that modern houses are tied. The only difference was that each knot formed a star.

## The History of the Sun and the Moon

### (*Cabécar*)

The sun and the moon were twins, children of *brumia* and his wife, *sí'təmé*. The twins caused the wrath of *sibu* because they committed incest. As punishment, he took away the force of the moon who was the female, and, therefore, she has no warmth.

## The Creation of the Moon

### (*Bribri*)

*sibu* ordered a woman to make a clay moon. She made it and hung it in the center of the sky. It gave so little light that it has to be used at night.

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[187] A version of this is given by the writer in Spanish; *see* Stone, 1949a, pp. 20-21.

[P.56(A)]

Cabecar
Bribri

### The Creation of the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

+ 539
821

*sibu* thought of making a moon so he got *arragropa*, a woman, to make it. It wasn't bright enough so he had to get a man to make a disk.

### The Creation of the Sun

(*Bribri*)

*sibu* was annoyed that the moon did not brighten the world because he wanted to create man. He made a man and ordered him to make Sun. The man made a clay sun and hung it in the center of the sky. It brightened the world.

### (3) The Myth of the Sun [168]

(*Bribri*)

The sun is Christian and a man, a valiant man, which *sibu* left us to light up the world. And he also left the moon to help him. If *sibu* hadn't left the sun, the world would be dark and cold. This is why *sibu* gave the sun heat so it could heat up the earth.

The moon was a woman and has no heat. *sibu* left her to light up the night.

As there are both the sun and the moon we can exist and live well.

### The Reason for the Sun

(*Cabécar*)

Below us lies another world where the sun goes at night to light up. There is still another sun, however, which never moves but stays with *sibu* in heaven. When the world was first made there was no light. The devils were masters of the world, but *sibu* was the king. The chief of the devils said he would make light because he detested darkness. *sibu* did not approve, but the devil chief made a very small light because the devil's eyes were fire

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[168] *See* Linguistic Texts: *diwo*.

[169] Today in Panama.

[776]

[170] This is a Spanish term applied to Indian graves. It also signifies buried treasure.

[171] The Cabécares claim that the *arbaLu* made the

[P.56(B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

* 539 821 and they could catch light in their hands. It could not shine far, but it was light. *sibu* thought if he didn't do something, the devils would be more powerful than he. This is why he made the sun. He made it so everyone could see it, even the ants.

## THE SEA

### (*Bribri*)

* 539 *sibu* made the world for his house and the sky for the roof. In the center which was in Chiriqui [169] he put a tree. This became the center of the world. The tree grew so rapidly that *sibu* was alarmed it would pierce the roof. He sent for the *kambra*, the lords of the [776] *buacas*,[170] who inhabited the world before the sun dawned and who made the grinding stones one finds in ancient graves. The *kambra* were bad spirits and *sibu* thought he could get rid of them by chopping the tree and having it fall on top of them. He only cut the portion with leaves, however. When this fell, the *kambra* held on to it and it became the sea. As this happened in Chiriqui where there was salt, the sea is salty.

The *kambra* later left Chiriqui and made the savannas here.[171] They wanted to work and plant them, but they were bad people. *sibu* felt he could not let man have what they had. For this reason there are two kinds of all the plants the Bribri need. When the *kambra* planted agave with thorns, *sibu* planted it without thorns. Good *pejibaye* was due to *sibu;* the bad to the *kambra*. The same is true of cacao.

## THE SEA [172]

### (*Cabécar*)

In the beginning, there was only a large rock and no earth. *sibu* wanted earth so there could be people. He sent a beautiful woman named Sea to tell Thunder that he wanted to consult with him. Thunder refused to leave, so *sibu* continued to send Sea to persuade him. When Sea became pregnant, Thunder decided to go.

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savannas and were the original occupants of the general region on the Pacific slope.

[172] This version was published by the writer in Honduras (*see* Stone, 1949a, p. 20) and was later reprinted in Costa Rica.

[P.57(1)]

Cabecar

*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

*sibu* arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[173] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

## LIGHTNING

(*Cabécar*)

*539 821 776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kaŋwuŋban*.

## THE RAIN

(*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karyíbiké-*

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[825] [173] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybidae* Fam.).

[174] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

[P. 57(B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

*539 821 776 756 [241] *gra* and *karpíwaina*. The medicine man has to talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to make rain or to stop the rain. September is planting time in Talamanca, and that is when the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds will not be washed away. It is then that the *jawá* chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

*karpíbikígra, karpíwaina*
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

### (4) THE RAINBOW [174]

(*Bribri and Cabécar*)

When *bukubLute*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

### (5) THE ORIGIN OF THE CABÉCARES [175]

(*Cabécar*)

*589 [753] *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

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[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tsinkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1908, pp. 2-4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

4

Cabecar
Bribri

[P.58(A)]

*539 trees and invited him to drink cacao out of new gourds. The chief replied that he would like to very much, but these little trees never produced. *sibu* answered, "Look! They do have fruit."

The other turned and seeing that the little trees had borne fruit said, "Good. Let's prepare the drink."

*sibu* made a mixture and together they started to drink but he only pretended. The worm chief set to and when he was full, vomited the *jaba* he had previously swallowed with everything in it.

Then *sibu* collected his seeds, saying that they were his. He dried them in the sun and from these we came.

## The Populating of the Pacific Side of the Cordillera of Talamanca

### (*Cabécar and Bribri*)

At the beginning when *sibu* made the world, it was dark. Three men left Cabécar, in Talamanca, and cut a trail across the range. They were, *səLɔǯəbí*, who led the group, *kuasran*,[176] who became the first member of the Borucas, and his brother-in-law, *łɔwik*.

In those days, the savannas on the other side (Pacific) were inhabited by the *sórbru*, the owners of the *wakas*.[177] These were bad people who lived by killing others and did not want the people of Talamanca to dwell amongst them. When the three men reached Ujarrás, there was still no sun, but on arriving at Térraba, day began to break. It was then that a jaguar upon which one of the men was riding, [778] put his paw on a soft rock and the print stayed there.[178]

The owners of the *wakas* disturbed the men so that they sent for an *usegLa*. He came from Talamanca in the form of a jaguar and killed all the *sórbru*. Then other people began to come from Talamanca to populate this side of the range.

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[103] [176] Today this name is applied to the ridge that runs from China Kichá, in General Valley, to Boruca. According to the Borucas, *kuasran* fled there during the Spanish conquest and lives in a cave. He is the oldest of the Borucas and knows all about their beginnings, but no one has seen him. They do not say that he came from Talamanca.

[192] [177] This is a phonetic (Cabécar) interpretation of

[P.58(B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

### (6) THE MYTH OF THE EAGLE [179]

(*Cabécar, but taken over by the Bribri*)

* 539 The *túgwa* say that in the beginning of the world there was a large eagle who carried off all men and animals to his nest for food for his young ones. This eagle lived on a high peak in a place known as *suLážibi* which lies at the headwaters of the Tiliri River in Talamanca.

People did not know what to do because everyone was carried off. Finally, one man offered to kill the eagle. He made a cage of black palm (*Iriartea* sp.) and a knife of the same material. Then the man entered the cage.

The eagle carried him in this to the peak thinking he would have good food for his young ones and left him there believing his prey was safe. Returning to earth, he seized another man and fed him to his offspring. When the eagle and his companion were asleep, the man in the cage crept out with his knife to kill the eagle. The eagle's companion turned to stone and the eagle himself fell headfirst into a lagoon which lay below his nest. When he touched the water, flames came forth; he was furious because he was the owner of the lagoon. The man became frightened at this and re-entered the cage. Then he threw a rope over the cliff and lowered himself to the ground.

He told what happened to another person and because he did so, he disappeared.

### THE STONE IN THE TALIRE RIVER

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[778] In the upper Talire, there is a large boulder. This was the big eagle *p'u*. There were originally four: the mother, the father, and two children. They fell in flames into the lagoon and are now the boulder in the river. (*See p'u* in Linguistic Texts.)

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[192] the Spanish word, *huaca*, which literally means "a buried treasure." It is the term used in Costa Rica to signify Indian burials and the objects obtained from the graves.

[778] [178] This rock is situated in the savanna known as Mano del Tigre on the trail leading from Buenos Aires to Boruca.

[179] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Ys, mę ilu Lɔga p'u.*

## (7) THE MULTIPLICATION OF HUMAN BEINGS[180]

(*Cabécar*)

*539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

## *serike*

(*Cabécar*)

*539 776 821 823 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio politico*, and had another son called *cuburɔ*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namą́*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the [825] Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

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[178] [180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sajersɔ* (people) *juar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 *amus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when
776 the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt
821 for the bad spirit and see if he can save human
lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the
823 lightning bolt. He also frightens people who
[825] try to harm the Indians. This is why when a
storm is brewing, first the water birds appear;
next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise
and the current roars.

*539 *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one
river to another, over mountains and around
776 rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his
quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, im-
821 mediately a chasm forms causing *dínamą́* to
move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also
[825] tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamą́*. This is
why there are always a few of these birds on
the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamą́* and cooks and eats him.

*serike* is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one
[756] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jawá* (medi-
[789] cine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must
sing the following song to convince him to
stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756] Also when there is something making peo-
ple afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people
[761] to drown in a deep pool, the *jawá* talks to
*serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come
and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamą́* (*bák namą́*) couldn't drown the people.

[P.60(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

## (8) *serike's* MOTHER[181]

### (*Bribri*)

* 539 776 *serike's* mother is *itsǿ's* daughter. *serike* himself is eight men in one. *itsǿ* ate his own daughter, *serike's* mother. *serike*, the eight-in-one, wanted to go with a woman. He became angry with his grandfather and went with his family to the place where the world ends for four days. He told his grandfather to wait for him. He then went to his grandmother for four days and returned to look for the grandfather. He put on a feathered headdress and carried away and killed the grandfather. When the wind blows daily in the summer it's a sign that *serike* is mad. [821]

## HOW *serike* GOT HIS STAFF

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 The family of *serike* had four long benches on which they sat to play ball. One day while he and his older brothers were playing[182] ball, he threw it too high and it fell into the largest *jaba* (basket) which hung on the roof side. Everyone looked for it without success. Finally *serike* said that he knew where it was and climbed up to the *jaba*.

There he found the ball and a jaw with teeth which said to him, "My son, why are you so careless that you don't know what's happened? I am your mother and you haven't noticed."

"When were you killed? Who did it?" the boy asked.

"It was your uncle who lives in the pool by the cliff."

"My little mother, tell me in what way we can revenge your death," the boy cried.

The jaw with teeth replied saying, "Don't you know that with two chile peppers you can get him. The old man eats chile. Take your hook and bait it with chile and fish out the demon, *bák namį*. Deceive him as he deceived me.

"He deceived me telling me that we were going hunting *dantas* (tapirs) as he knew I like *dantas*. Why I even carried a *jaba* full of peeled and toasted plantains and made a small shelter to sleep in.

"Your uncle sent me with a dog to run a

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[181] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tserke amí*.

[776] [182] It should be remembered that *serike* is considered

*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namą́* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namą́*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [188]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namą́*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namą́* and his uncle, *aroromąsa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromasa* smokes cigars there is a breeze. [821]

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[776] [415] [822] as five or eight men together.

[188] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.

[P. 61 (A)]

Cabecar
Bribri

## THE MYTH OF THE WATER-JAGUAR[184]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

* 539 776 823 *dínamą́* is an evil spirit. When the river water is white or milky, it's because *dínamą́* has colored himself white. When it becomes a muddy red, it means that he has changed his color. If the rising or flood river is red, however, and not a muddy red, it is because the mother of the river *dímíną́* is menstruating. There is more than one water-jaguar and they function below large pools or waterfalls or when the rivers are high. Their fangs are large and red, and they have two tails. When a water-jaguar bites trees, as happens in flood times, the trees dry up from the heat of these fangs. When they bite people, they drag them down in the water, drown them, and eat them. [761] It is easy to tell when a water-jaguar has caused a person's death. Their method of killing is to break the front of the skull in two places, and to bite them on the forehead and on the knees.

The first *dínamą́* was the grandson of an old woman named *díkú witcké*. She was so bad that *sibu* did not allow her to live on earth. Therefore, her home is under the sea where she lives together with her grandson. *dínamą́* inherited much of his grandmother's meanness, and she keeps an eye on him. When the surf thunders, it is a sign that he is about to leave the sea and go up the rivers after people. It is his grandmother who makes this noise because she is afraid that he will not return, and she watches at the river mouths to punish him.

## (9a, b, and c) THE MYTH OF THE WATER-JAGUAR[185]

(*Cabécar*)

This river flows and goes and where it ends *oLobəsią* is watching that animals do not pass who eat men. When *oLobəsią* grows careless, however, the water-jaguar who eats men [761] passes. It is then that people drown. What

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[184] Known also as: *dínamą́*, *bák-namą́*, *ják namí tsirute*, and *díkum* or *díkam*.

[185] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ják namą́* (stone-jaguar) *dínamą́* (water-jaguar). Also see The Myth of *óknamą́* and Linguistic Texts: *ók-nam-ąté*.

* 539 really happens to them is that they are eaten
776 by the water-jaguar.

823 *oLobəsįą* becomes aware that *dínamą́* has gone by him to catch men when he notes that
[761] the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsįą*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

### (10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 The river flows downward and reaches the
776 mouth where *oLobəsįą*[186] stays to support the
823 water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it
821 carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

[731] Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsįą* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsįą* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsįą*.

### (11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He
776 lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the
823 river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,
761

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[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *sįą́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrasén*, and Linguistic Texts: *dí-namą́*.

*539 776 823 761 make him sleep. It is then that the water-jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He searches for cacao, and when he discovers a well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamą́* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamą́*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

## (12) *onombrasén*[190]

### (*Cabécar*)

*539 776 761 [823] When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

[825] *onombrasén,* who is a spirit who looks after people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

## (13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

### (*Cabécar*)

778 103 [133] [487] *Mano del Tigre* is one of the large savannas through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on almost all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

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[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén.* Compare with The Myth of *óknamą́te.*

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namą́ tś* (jaguar print).

[P.62(B)]

Cabecar

778 103 [133] on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection caused by nature which with the help of the imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and [782] [756] yearly the medicine men of these two groups leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

*539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *Iəwík*,[102] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *Iəwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[103]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

## (14) THE JAGUAR HUNT[104]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

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[102] A mythical man.

[778] [103] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave.

[104] *See* Linguistic Texts: *hą́ʒuLu namį́* (hunt jaguar).

*539 At night, they were given a large jug for a bed.

One of the prisoners noticed that the head of the house would go out to hunt but as soon as he left, the roar of a jaguar was heard. He spied on the man and discovered that outside of the house he was a jaguar but, by shaking himself, his hide fell off and he became a man who went into the forest.

The watching prisoner crept up to the jaguar skin and carried it off. When the man returned and did not find his jaguar skin, he became furious and began to eat the people.

One old woman, seeing the awful things that were happening, heated an earthen rod and stuck it in the mouth of the man-jaguar while he slept. Then she quickly hid in a little tunnel she had prepared beforehand. This is how the people in Alta Talamanca were rid of such a terrible scourge.

### The Medicine Man's Stones

### (*Cabécar and Bribri*)

*539 756 778 When *sibu* made the first eight medicine men, he died for four days. Three of these men predicted that he would not stay dead but would go to the sky. One of these was *díkúrwa* who was once a water bird and when he said that *sibu* would never die he was made into the most powerful of the *siį́* or medicine man's three principal stones. All medicine men know [763] when they themselves are going to die as *díkúrwa* disappears or divides himself in half. He is so powerful that only the most powerful doctors dare to use *díkúrwa*. The majority rely on *sorkurwa*. All the *siį́*, however, communicate with *sibu* and the medicine men in a [198] "sacred" or private language unknown to the layman.

### (15) The Sacred Stones[195]

### (*Cabécar and Bribri*)

There is a spot in Talamanca where there are large boulders. Here live the *siį́*, the medicine men's stones. A new medicine man, if it is possible, goes there and leaves grains of white maize on the rocks at night. The next morning the stones appear.

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[195] *See* Linguistic Texts: *siį́*.

### SICKNESS

### (*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

### CLAN PROTECTORS

### (*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibi* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *sibawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

*539 *grunuák*, and the fourth to the *oLoLiba* or
614 *sənʃtsuua*.

[824] The snake is the protector of the *kibegruuák* clan because long ago at *sənʃtsuua*, where
[825] they lived, one of the first women in the world belonged to this group. She was with her brother and said to him, "I have my husband. I am going to see my husband."

The brother saw a tremendous snake encircle his sister and yet she remained in the center. He understood that this was her husband and that he would not harm but would protect his group.

### *sibusuLa*[196]

*539 In *sibusuLa* there is a large stone and a chasm
778 at the river's edge. There are people within this stone. Once *sibu* played ball with cacao pods there.

## BELIEFS CONCERNING NEIGHBORS OF THE CABÉCARES[197]

### (*Cabécar*)

*539 The Térrabas (*bura* or *broshi*) came from
186 *manerú*. They were originally monkeys. The Borucas (*burcat*) are descended from the wild pig (*zini*). It happened that the *cuebu* left the Coen River hunting monkeys and crossed the cordillera. On the other side, their prey was seen in a tree, but when they started to shoot, it turned out that they were people instead of monkeys. These were the *Térrabas* to whom they could talk.

The *cuebu* continued to hunt and found a flock of wild pigs which they chased to the brook by Boruca. Before any could be shot, however, they realized that these were Borucas. So, the *cuebu* also talked to them in Boruca.

## THE DANCE

### (*Bribri*)

*539 *sibu* gave the dance to man. He came in the
535 form of a buzzard and wore a collar.[198] He

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[103] [196] This is a place name. It is also a term used when an ancestor or ancient events are spoken of.

[779] [177] [197] This myth suggests a totemic substrata and an interrelationship between the tribes of Talamanca and the other indigenous groups of eastern Costa Rica.

[P64(B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

*539 [535] taught people how to dance and to sing the following song:

> *sibu* came in the form of a buzzard
> dressed as a man,
> Collar on his neck.
> The collar reflected,
> He came with the collar
> Ejené, ekujé,[198]
> Ejené, eanjé,[199]
> He came to give us the dance
> He came from the air.
> Ejené, ekujé,
> Ejené, eanjé.

## A TALE OF THE *bukLú*

### (*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There [825] he told his people that they should not wound animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

## *sutá*

### (*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

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[172] [198] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.

[533] [199] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

[P-65(A)]

Cabecar.
Bribri

## *duLi*

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
312
757
[262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

## THE PEJIBAYE

(*Bribri*)

* 539
824
846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

## (16) TOBACCO[300]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
276 *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for
[261] tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

## CACAO (CHOCOLATE)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiŋɔ* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiŋɔ* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539
824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[300] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

[P.65(B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

* 539 [824] Humb. & Bonpl.), and the two kinds of what is commonly called wild cacao (*Theobroma angustifolium* D.C. and *Theobroma purpureum* Pittier) are formed from *spaLbu*, *soro*, and *tipa* respectively. Of these, only *siru* has won the hearts of all people, not alone of Talamanca, but of the entire world. [595] And thus it is that as *sibu* had four wives, the Cabécar and the Bribri can have four also, but should not have more.

## The Origin of the Whale

(*Bribri*)

A bad spirit disguised as man took up with a woman and she became pregnant. Eight days later she gave birth to twins who were crawling within four days and walking within the next four days. Still four days later, they began to kill birds with a blow gun.

It was then that the grandmother said to her daughter, "Your sons are not the sons of a man because they've grown so large. I am going to find out."

The twins heard their grandmother's remark.

When the old lady went to the forest where they hunted birds, instead of the boys she found two big snakes beside a wild fig tree. These serpents had birds.

The grandmother ran to the mother and cried, "Those two sons of yours are not human."

The boys, however, returned to the house as twins.

"You see," said the grandmother.

"Don't scold me so, mother," the woman replied. "Tomorrow I am going to see if it's true that they are not human."

The next morning the boys said to their mother, "We want you to go to the forest and pick up the birds we kill."

When the mother reached the woodland, she found that her twins were two large snakes. And they ate her.

The grandmother who was waiting at home, asked the boys at their return where their mother was.

"I don't know where she went, grandmother," one replied, "because she wasn't following us."

The next day, the twins said to their grand-

Bribri

*539 mother, "Come with us and bring the fish we are going to catch."

As she reached the pool, she saw that there were two great snakes seizing fish and they seized her. After which they coiled up and made a very large pool.

Then *sibu* became alarmed because he felt that if things went this way the world would all be water and human beings would be destroyed. So he began to think and said to himself, "I will look for other twins belonging to the same people but who are now men."

He found them and gave each one a bow and arrow saying to them, "Go shooting at a place where you find some very large animals."

One went first to experiment, while the other stayed about a thousand yards behind. When the first arrived, the great snakes resounded loudly. The man shot his arrow and at the same time warned his companion. As this one caught up, he noticed that the first man was not shooting as he shot.

The great snakes began uncoiling and stretched and stretched going down river until they reached the sea. Here they became whales.

### The Beetle

(*Bribri*)

When the first man died, the beetle, who was a large man, asked, "What'll we do if no one of us knows how to bury?"

He had two assistants (*bika'kra; see* Organizer of Feasts) who asked him, "Whom shall we use? Here nobody knows how to bury. Let's look for the famous one, the man beetle."

"Absolutely," the others said.

One went searching and when he found him said, "I have been sent by *sibu* to look for you because someone died."

*sibu* and one assistant said, "We'll prepare food so that the beetle will work with relish."

When the beetle arrived he asked, "What can I do for you?"

*sibu* answered, "I sent for you to bury." And he gave him something to eat.

After the beetle finished, *sibu* said, "Now do your work."

And he taught man how to bury.

Because of this the men who bury must be *ókųm* (*see* The Buriers).

[P.66 (B)] Cabecar Bribri

**Non-Theological Tales.**

* 539 825

### THE GRANDMOTHER OF THE TOAD

(*Bribri*)

*buké winchké* is the grandmother of the toad. She lives where the sun sets and is a helper of *sibu*. When he gives her his hand, amoebas come. Therefore, it is impossible to cure them. He who is born to die of amoebas, must do so. [761]

### WHY THE TOADS HAVE UGLY BUTTOCKS

(*Bribri*)

Long ago the toads liked to dance the Monkey Dance (*see* Dances). This disgusted *sibu* so when they sat down, he partially dried their buttocks making them thinner than the rest of their body.

### THE ALLIGATOR[201]

(*Cabécar*)

The alligator lived in a large pool where he had a balsa (raft). He had a beard and a long tongue to catch whatever he wanted. When he saw people, he would stick out his tongue and pull them in.

*sibu* was annoyed with this and sent a man to pull the tongue out, giving him his staff to help with the task. The man put the staff on the alligator's tongue and pulled it and the beard out, both of which he gave to the sun to make its rays.

### THE IGUANA

(*Cabécar*)

*sibu* heard a cry from afar. He told the iguana to find out from whence the cry came. The iguana, however, refused to do *sibu's* bidding. As a punishment, *sibu* beat him. Then the iguana cried, "If you put me in the river, I'll die."

He was put in the river, but he was content, because there he found the alligator, the serpent, and the crab. All were his friends and he liked to stay with them.

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[136] [201] There are no alligators in Costa Rica, only crocodiles.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.67(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Cabecar
Bribri

## THE ARMADILLO

### (*Cabécar*)

* 539
825

*sibu* wanted someone to guard the corn. The armadillo offered himself saying, "I can because I have no teeth."

On the third day, however, *sibu* discovered that the armadillo was eating the corn and he beat him. The animal cried and said to *sibu*, "If you throw me in the water, I won't die, but if you throw me on the earth I'll die."

*sibu* threw him on the earth and the armadillo promptly dug a hole.

## THE ARMADILLO

### (*Bribri*)

The armadillo wanted to steal the four grains of maize *sibu* had to form the nation (our race). He planned to use a shell as a basket to carry them.

*sibu* found out and told the armadillo he should not do this and certainly should not use that shell.

"Don't punish me and you'll see I can be very useful," said the armadillo and put the shell on his back.

*sibu* picked him up by the tail and started to throw him when the animal said, "Don't throw me in the air. Throw me on the land."

*sibu* did so and where he fell he made a hole. The armadillo kept on digging in the hole. This is why he has a shell and why he lives in the earth.

## THE LIZARD

### (*Cabécar*)

*sibu* ordered the lizard to go underground on a mission for him. Instead of going, he forgot and slept in the sun. As a punishment, *sibu* put cacao butter on his back so that whenever he goes in the sun he shines.

## THE CRAB

### (*Cabécar and Bribri*)

The crab was *sibu's* helper and was sent to earth to see what he could find. He dug in and fresh water came up for man.

[P. 67 (B)]

Cabecar
Bribri

### THE SPIDER

(*Cabécar*)

* 539
825

Most spiders in Talamanca have white eggs. These symbolize the stones which *sibu* left. *sibu* blew and the spider eggs became round and white. The medicine man's best stones are round and white. The Catholic priest also must have stones as *sibu* left them for both the medicine men and the priests. Without these stones there could be no mass. The Indian's stones are more valuable because *sibu* left them first. The stones found in graves are of no use now because the people then had other medicine men.

[177]

### THE WHALE

(*Bribri*)

The whale lived in the sky with *sibu* but he liked to go to earth to eat people. *sibu* became worried that he would do away with man so he expelled him from the sky to the sea.

### THE CONGO MONKEY AND LIGHTNING

(*Bribri*)

Lightning in the form of man went hunting and met the Congo monkey. When he went to shoot, the monkey said, "Wait while I cover myself with my hands."

Then Lightning shot and all of the monkey was blackened by this except where he had his hands which was his lower portion between his legs. This is why the Congo monkey is black all over with the exception of this white part.

Later the Congo met the jaguar. The jaguar said, "Look, you have a loud voice but not so loud."

"Say," answered the Congo monkey, "my voice is louder than yours. I am going to be in the trees and my voice has to be heard from there, so yours can't be more powerful than mine."

The jaguar replied, "No, you're wrong." And he produced a cow's horn to help his voice along.

The monkey grabbed it and carried the horn to the tree top. The jaguar remained sad.

"Now we'll see who has the loudest voice,"

[P.68(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

*539 said the monkey, and he shouted with such
force that he scared even himself.

825 The jaguar tried to do the same but he
couldn't. This is because *sibu* felt that if a
powerful creature like the jaguar would also
have a tremendously loud voice, every animal
and person in the world would be afraid of
him. Whereas it didn't matter if the smaller
monkey who lived in the trees could make a
loud noise. *sibu,* however, would not let the
monkey eat with his hands. So to this day if
he eats fruit, he has to bite it from the bottom
and eat up without touching it with his hands.

[821] The Congo monkey is wise, however, and
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.68(B)--Analyst]

### RECREATION

517 **Visits.** People are not in the habit of visiting
521 for the sake of chatting or exchanging news.
In the large houses, each family group of
women and older children relaxes by the
individual fire, squatting on low benches and
talking in almost inaudible voices. The men
lie in hammocks or busy themselves repairing
an arrow or some similar implement. Elder men
[538] and women often tell theological or lay "his-
tories" (*see* Myths) after suppertime. On the
[184] Pacific side, the same general pattern is fol-
lowed although both men and women are seen
talking on the long low benches or on logs
more often than in hammocks. Conversation
521 is based on crops; how they are going to plant
and where and when; dates of *juntas* (*see* Re-
unions) to prepare the ground, etc. Often,
[184] on the Pacific side, women join these talks
with the men. Women among themselves talk
of children or household chores. There is little
interest in gossip. Elder people are referred to
[888] as *kéké,* a term of great respect. Occasionally,
431 presents of a piece of game are made to a
neighboring household, especially on the
Pacific side.

574 Visitors are limited to the traveler to or from
484 one side of the range. He or rather they, as
these people do not undertake a trip alone,
[576] pause at the door of a house and wait for
permission to enter. It depends upon their
social importance how much and what kind
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P.68(B)--Analyst]

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*** *Chordeiles acutipennis Texensis* Lawrence, vulgarly called "Texas Nighthawk" in English.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

### (17) WHY THE CUYEO[202] HAS A TIGHTLY CLOSED BEAK[203]

### (*Bribri*)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

## *RECREATION*

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with
the travelers, they speak separately with the
women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of
226 their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare
instances of community use of fish poisons, it
is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of
gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
[533] sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the
closest these people come to what might be
termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

| *bé* | *rər* | *webLa* | *suLue* | *es* | *béwə* | *bəmitsęn.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| you | are | man | bad | like | devil | take<br>(carry off). |

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəŋę* which is a very strong term.

476 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
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[203] *See* Linguistic Texts: *šipə* (coyeo).

[P.69(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

476 traditions, are known by the Spanish term
*juntas* or *bLo-ǯé* (chicha-to drink) in Bribri,
574 or in Cabécar *dí*[204]*-ǯɔ* (chicha-to drink). They
273 are held when there is need of group labor
such as building a house, clearing a field,
[571] making a bridge, etc. It is the only time except
at death or bone burial that groups of people
meet. The person giving the *junta* must supply
liberal quantities of chicha and at least sufficient
[535] cient food. Dancing with singing, particularly
[533] on the Caribbean side, forms part of the enter-
[184] tainment. On the Pacific, singing is not as
[534] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69(B)--Analyst]

## THE ARTS

534 **Musical Instruments.** Upright drums are the
preferred instruments of Talamanca. In pre-
[172] Columbian graves they are found fashioned of
clay and occur from miniature sizes to three
[824] feet in height. Today they are made of palm
or cedar with one end covered with iguana
[237] skin and the other end open. The skin is
fastened to the wood with a glue made from
[381] the red fruit of the *butsí* tree and is then tied
[824] with *pita.* Their size varies from two and a
half to three feet and they are played by hand.
Formerly a small all-wooden drum with a
[766] U-shaped slit[205] was used at the burial of
chiefs. These were played with a bone or a
[184] stick. The people on the Pacific side do not
have the upright drum but use the Chiricano
*caja* or round drum of palm wood covered at
[237] both ends with wild boar skin and played with
two sticks.

534 In Talamanca, and as a rule in all *jawá*
237 houses, armadillo shells are rubbed with a stick
while those of land turtles are used in a similar
manner or as clappers. The conch shell is made
[202] into a horn to relay messages but not for a
musical instrument. Rattles of gourds filled
with seeds or pebbles and with fowl bone or
wooden handles are also seen.

533 **Tempo.** There are varied beats for the up-
right drum: 4 short and 1 long; 3 short and
1 long; 2 short and 1 long. As many as twenty
drums were played at one time in Talamanca
[184] when the Singer functioned. On the Pacific
side, the old pieces are seldom heard. The
[TEXT CONTINUES MIDDLE OF P. 69(B)--Analyst]

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[192] [204] *dí* is also the word for water and is often used
for river.

[P.69(B)]

Bribri
Cabecar

476
574 common and the accordions, guitars, and the
273 round drum or *caja* take the place of the
[184] aboriginal upright drum (*see* The Dance). The
[534] guests, who wear their best clothing (*see* Adornment), repay their host by giving their labor free until the project is completed. These affairs are noted for the excessive drinking.
[578] Few if any fights occur, however, and the over-intoxicated as a rule simply fall asleep guarded by his female companions or vice-versa, and the joint work of the men begins as usual the following day lasting until noon.

## THE ARTS

533 The majority of the dances and music consist of
535 the Chiricano *son*, *punta*, and the waltz. The accompaniment is formed by an accordion,
[534] guitar, or violin and the round drum.

535 **Dances.** There are many different dances, both in connection with ceremonies and for sheer pleasure. The Bribri in particular have the greatest number of secular dances which
[476] are performed at gatherings called *juntas* usually held to build a house, fell a clearing, or some such joint labor where friends come in to help. Many of the songs that accompany the dances are in a language not understandable
[198] to the singers. Some are sung in Térraba. There are two traditional dance methods: in a line or in a circle. The circle type is called *buLik-Lak*. If drums accompany the performers, they remain outside of the ring. Arms are raised horizontally and interlocked. The first movement consists of one step to the right side and a short one to the left with the body inclined slightly forward. The second movement starts in a similar fashion but the beat changes and the two steps are more marked, the second ending in a small jump or hop. Suddenly, the dancers go in the opposite direction and continue with the second movement only. The sideward hop necessarily makes the circle go forward and backward. In the *surbon*, a circle dance, the ring is formed first by men and then women put their heads between the arms of the men and all participate.

There are a number of line dances, for

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[illegible] Gabb, 1875, p. 517.

535 example, *buréte* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in
[533] these lines. The drum is held under the arms of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535
773
The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535
342
Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kəmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

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224
533
Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

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[776]
[172]
[171]
[206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of north-western Panama.

535 dance which was performed in a circle by men
224 and women with one person singing but the
533 whole group joining in the chorus. The song
recounted the experiences during a hunt.

535 There are various dances held in connection
[764] with death and burial but they are seldom seen
today outside of upper Talamanca.

[184] Pittier[208] mentions a bone dance performed
[765] at the time of secondary burial by men if the
deceased was an adult and by women if a
child. The bone dance witnessed by the writer
was carried out by a line of women and one
of men. The person taking the place of the
[533] Singer (*see* Death) chanted the life history of
the departed, and kept time with a gourd
rattle. His four assistants in the line of men
had drums under their arms which they beat
as they danced.

[756] A different bone dance which is a remnant
of a war dance with trophy heads is occasion-
[727] ally performed when the medicine man is feeling particularly sure of himself and wants to
celebrate. Men and women form a circle with
interlocked arms. It is said that skulls were
[178] once balanced on the arms. Today, nothing is
placed there. The men sing and the women
join in the chorus singing *ékéké* meaning
"good" or "well."

533 **Songs.** All sacred songs are basically Cabécar
even though they may be sung in Bribri. The
Medicine Man and sometimes the Burier
[198] sing these songs which are usually in ancient
Cabécar and are not understood by the masses.

Lay songs are common to the Bribri and very rare among the Cabécar. The Bribri delight in inventing songs to fit the occasion. Both men and women like to sing and do so on the slightest provocation when working, bathing, washing, or minding the baby. The addition of words only for their sound is
[197] characteristic. Likewise, many Térraba words
are found in Bribri songs, the meaning of
which is unknown to the singer. In fact, the
[195] sung language permits all sorts of liberties as
well as having a certain vocabulary of its own.

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[773] western Panama. The traditional home of the Bribri
[173] is in northwest Panama. *See* Stone, 1952, p. 252.

[207] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 594–95.

[208] Pittier, 1938, pp. 25–26.

[P.71(A)]

Bribri

*539
533

**Sacred Songs**

### (18) SINGER'S SONG[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsø*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

### (19) *dikúsrwa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755]
[787]
This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúsrwa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúsrwa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúsrwa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúsrwa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

**Lay Songs**

### (20) THE MONKEY DANCE[211]

(*Bribri*)

[535] This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:

Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsua* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

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[756]
[209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *biʒabLɔ-kɔk-keLi.* This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.

[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúsrwa.*

[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLtakuLe.*

[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLetɔ; also* The Arts.

### (21) *duLetə*[212]

(*Bribri*)

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533

Old timers, let's go;
Let's dance.
Now let's walk forward;
There's a place to see, old timers;
There's no place to see.
*masLakésLa*, the mountain, touches the river.
Let's go.

### (22) SONG FOR CUTTING WOOD FOR A HOUSE[213]

(*Bribri*)

We are going to tear down the house of *itsǫ́*
where we went to hide
and when we reach our house with it
then we shall sing.

### (23) SISTER[214]

(*Bribri*)

Where sister, little ugly sister,
Where are you standing?
In what place are you coming on a raft?
Or in what place are you going.

### (24) LULLABY,[215] VERSION 1

(*Bribri*)

Hush little one.
Don't you cry dear child
Sleep quietly
Why cry little one, baby.
Sleep, sleep, quietly sleep
Mother has gone to bring you a flower
Little ugly one, sleep quietly.

### LULLABY, VERSION 2

(*Bribri*)

Little child, don't you cry, don't cry
While your mother goes to bring plantains.
Don't cry while your mother goes to plant
cuttings.

[776]
[342]

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[213] *itsǫ́* is a spirit who doesn't die so they sing this in the belief that the house will last a long time. *See* Linguistic Texts: *itsǫ́*.

[214] *See* Linguistic Texts: *taʒe*. This song is sung frequently by women when working.

[215] *See* Linguistic Texts: *aLaLa bua*.

*539
533

I am going to pick yuca; to pull up *ñames*.
Don't cry little child.

### THE DOVE

(*Bribri*)

When the young pigeon flew in the world
Now he wants to do the same
To fly also as the young pigeon flew
I am
So that you hear that I am on this earth.

### SONG

(*Bribri*)

Now it is day, I am going to sing
because it is day,
Saying goodbye to my people here,
I sing to my people so that they will
hear me.

### (25) THE BIRD[216]

(*Bribri*)

This is your child who stays,
Go to the mountain as I go.
You, buzzard, on your dry road
And I, buzzard, on my dry road
I try, you try to reach the shores of the sea.
You go with a good wind and I go also in the
dawn.
Sea where you go;
Wind where you go.

### (26) ON THE BACK[217]

(*Bribri*)

He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
little monkey,
He who doesn't command, puts on the back a
white-faced monkey and a little periquette,
He who doesn't put on the back an important
person,
They have put him on the back,
Great *sibu* has been put on the back.

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[216] *See* Linguistic Texts: *du*.

[217] *See* Linguistic Texts: *itiúgę tsé*.

[218] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dina dinawę́*. This has the character of a calling song, or one to boost one's ego.

[219] *See* Linguistic Texts: *bLó* (chicha) *tse* (song).

[P72(B)]
Bribri

### (27) WATER-JAGUAR[218]

(*Bribri*)

*539
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The water-jaguars want to eat.
Don't be afraid.
There are many jaguars who want to eat.
Don't be afraid of them.

### (28) CHICHA SONG[219]

(*Bribri*)

What's the matter with the way you're thinking!
Is it that you think I cannot grind
either chicha or chilate?
Then take this as if it were like good chicha grinders make,
Not like a poor person holding a gourd,
Not like one who doesn't grind chicha,
And listen to what I have to say.

### (29) FIGHTING SONG[220]

(*Bribri*)

The grasshopper and the alligator ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large snakes ate one another;
I am not afraid.
The large alligator ate the grasshopper.
The large snake ate the grasshopper.
I am not afraid.

### (30) CEMETERY SONG[221]

(*Bribri*)

We'll try to see if we can lift the stones and logs.
We'll put them on our shoulders as men.
We're going to try.
We'll lift the log as a tiger,
We'll lift the log as an alligator,
We'll lift the log as *serike*,
Drinking our chicha to get strength as men,
We'll sing all of us boys.

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[154]
[578]

This song is sung when one is angry and out of patience.

[220] *See* Linguistic Texts: *inijpak-tsé*. This song is in a sense a challenge to fight.

[221] *See* Linguistic Texts: *apú tsək*.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.73(A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar

* 539
533

### (31) LULLABY[223]

### (*Cabécar*)

Rock-a-bye baby, sleep,
Little mother went to look for flowers.
We must sleep before little mother comes home.

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[223] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ʒabaLá pabLeuq.*

P

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[P.73(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar

* 539
533

### (32) PLANTING SONG[238]

### (Cabécar)

Let's go to work
Let's go to plant corn
Plant the corn well
When it's planted we'll leave.

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[238] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tka*.

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Bribri

[P.74]

## LINGUISTIC TEXTS

114 Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language)
on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been
collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have
194 been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, έ, ę, ę́, ə, i, í, o, u, ú, ų, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts.
Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a
193 noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which
we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, į́ę́, ka, kə, ká, ki, kį, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́,
te, tέ, tə, sa, se, si, su, uk, ųk, še.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are
suffixes. The prefix *ŋa-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use
194 of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic
of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and
114 Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the
33rd International Congress of Americanists."[234]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental phonemes,
193 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

> 194 The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except į, ę, ǫ), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia·mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a·mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, įą, ąį, ʌi, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, ųą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double
negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency
to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound.
Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands
for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the
195 medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also
583 generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred
+539 or curing chants of the *jawá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba
(Tiribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

[198]

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[234] Jones, 1959.

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[P.75]

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## LINGUISTIC TEXTS

## Theological Myths[225]

### 1. *sibu* was born (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* is wind. He has no papa but yes mama. He entered as wind in a woman, but his person[226] went below the earth during four days. After he was born then he appeared.[227] (*2*) A pregnant woman went to fetch water. She found a man-child at the water edge.[228] She lifted him and brought him to the house.

2. There were the uncles. They asked, "Where did you find the man-child?" The mother answered, "This is [my first] son[229] I found." (*2*) It happened that the uncles were great medicine men and thought perhaps it might be[230] *sibu*.

3. *sibu* was a young child. He thought, they could find me through[231] the stone. Then *sibu* thought he would go outside to talk to the stone. (*2*) Thus very well, the oldest great [medicine man] went outside. There he went to talk with the stone. "When he asks you [if he is the first] son,[232] then you answer so it seems. [If] he asks you again [if it] is *sibu*, then you answer perhaps it is *sibu*."

4. When night fell, the oldest medicine man went to find out. Then the stone answered as *sibu* had told him. Thus he left without knowing if he was *sibu* or a person. There *sibu* grew up. Then his enemies killed him.

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### 1. sibə tsikeneL

1. sibə ró siwą́. ijié karó kágata atara minata. pé LagLəwa-na iję́k-patkąwą siwą́ šə, atá iwagə mené ką́ diar tkárəmi tká tkiL. bigógə ikonéL jegəpa idejúne. (*2*) pé LagLəwá bukLu mené digLə́ tsą. jete šiba duLuná kwá digLə́ káska. kagą́ite betéseiwą juga.

2. jéska inųąwa tsǫ́nę. jete išagą́, "mai bete šiba kwą́ną?" imina tsikugágą́, "jérə skáktə kwaje." (*2*) jeŋera i-nųąwa ró jawá ktąj tsibigətsá sibə Leirə.

3. sibə kaLmé duLunágLa. bigətsaite, s-chagemiksą́ite sįą́ wa. jera sibə-te ibigitsá ibiá-mijų nąLąbataga jié któgLə sįą́ra. (*2*) jebi bəi, kekektaj majų jušəbəga. jeska jié mené ktə sįą́ra. "berbena bə-chagegę́itera šiba-səkətə, irə-j jéra butsikuge jebi itséLarə. siga chagemíte sibə irəj, jera bute ikuge sibə Leirə."

4. bigəge katuirrawą́ra, ŋę́ keke ktąj majų itátkə. ŋé siáte ikuga mene sibə tsišają gəpi. jebi i-jawąite kawą ijuŋer sibə irəj atára tsejersə irá. jeska sibə tLaná. jegəpa i-boLkiwate i-ktajųamí.

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[225] Words in brackets signify words which are understood but do not appear in the Cabécar text.
[226] I.e., his physical person.
[227] Literally, "arrived."
[228] Literally, "bank."
[229] Literally, "staff."
[230] Literally, "is."
[231] Literally, "with."
[232] Literally, "child-son."

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[P.76]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

*539

## 2. The Making of Earth (*Cabécar*)

1. In the first place [when the world] was made [there was] no earth. Then there was only hard stone. The bat lived in a large stone. He excreted. Thus plants were produced.[233] (*2*) *sibu* saw this was good to produce seed. Then he asked the bat, "What do you eat?" The bat did not tell him. "But [if] you give me a bite, then I'll tell you." (*3*) "Sometime I'll give you [one]," answered *sibu*.

2. Then they went to see underneath the stone. *sibu* asked, "What do you eat?" The bat answered, "Below the stone I suck the blood of the son of *namą́-bosįą́*.[234]" (*2*) *sibu* said, "Show me." They went.[235] *sibu* sent Thunder to shoot it. Thunder said to *sibu*, "Kneel down[236] but shut your ears." He shot two, three [times].

3. Immediately the stone broke. *sibu* saw *namą́-bosįą́* faint.[237] The umbilical cord is united with his mother's. He cut this quickly. He carried him. He threw him away like earth.

4. When his mother awoke her son was gone.[238] She looked for him. *sibu* sent the deer to cry like her son. (*2*) *namą́-bosįą́* ran to see. Only the deer was there. She stretched his neck. Meanwhile, *sibu* made earth out of[239] her son.

---

## 2. jišəká šəneL

1. ságotə ką šunéLra ká jišəkəta. jera kerrua siú bə irə. dukúr sęrgę́ ják ktajna. ŋawəgé. jegi kákó tsikiną́. (*2*) sibəte je suą́ ba ditsó tsenagLə. jegépa teichagá dukúrią, "jiró kətábete?" ká dukúr tei-seŋa, "atá bətesią kaku memí, jera mią-išeje." (*3*) "bigəge-Lé mią imeje," kuká sibəte.

2. jera i-menejLumi isuą́ ják-təmi. sibəte ichagá, "jiró kətábeterúna?" dukúr teišá, "ják dəginą́ namą́-bəsįą́ šiba pí šáerə." (*2*) sibəte išá, "bu-kusią-i-kašə." idemíjLu. sibəte tLá pagá tsikįwą. tLá teisá sibə-ią, "bəjekkəwą kichugi ata bə kukó kətkową." tiáite bóL, maŋą́L.

3. éguəta ják konąjunąmi. sibəte isųą́ namą́-bəsįą́ siwą jánąwą. imǫ ró wəjieLə iminamį. jé tiajsąite békti. ijkájumi i-újse. jé jiąchąite jįsəgə še.

4. bigáge i-mįna škinagą́ i-šiba šenąwą. šuLáite. sibəte duwé pagá janą i-šiba še. (*2*) namą́-bəsįą́ tunąmi isųą. duwé bu katę. ite ikuLí jįąšaŋa. jé-dLéiska, sibəte i-šiba šuá jįsəkó šó.

[233] Literally, "born."
[234] This is the son of the mother of earth who became earth.
[235] Literally, "arrived" or "reached."
[236] Literally, "sit on knees."
[237] Literally, "weak fell."
[238] Literally, "lost."
[239] Literally, "is."

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Bribri

[P.77]

## LINGUISTIC TEXTS

### 3. The Sun (*Bribri*)

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1. The sun is like us. He is a man. The sun is a very brilliant man. *sibu* left this very bright. He left a place to give birth[240] to the stones.

2. Then *sibu* left a very dark place for the last. [If] *sibu* would not have left us who live, then we would not be.

3. The moon is a woman. Because of this *sibu* left night. [If] he had not [left the moon] to brighten this, it would have stayed horrible, meaning for us in these hours. (*2*) We see in this dawn that there is a moon, that there is a sun, because of this we live.

### 4. The Rainbow (*Cabécar*)

1. *bukubLute* is smoking his pipe. This smoke is the wi[illegible]ghts the tobacco with the rainbow. This is the spark for the tobacco.

### 5. We are born (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* kept us in a basket. There the large worm swallowed us with the basket. Then there were gourds. There was cacao [which does] not flower.

---

### 3. díwə

1. díwə erər sé. erər wébLa. tąj dəLóLəé díwə wébLa. tąj dəLóLəé é meát sibu-tə[241] siá ká-ŋiųkəL é-kemú.[242]

2. sibu-tə ema[243] ká tsétséé eątą[243] i-meát e-batáie. sə-tso'sen é-kemú-paát sibu-tə, ema ké səkú.

3. síwə erər aLákəL. é-batáie meát sibu-tə ká tsétséé. é šųŋjųkəL, é-kemú-paát suLúe iąte, itə sią ichəktə i-jkętą. (*2*) káŋjna ékj sə-isuę káŋjna síwə tso'sen,[244] díwə tso'sen, é-bata sə-tso'sen buá.

### 4. škba

1. bukubLute kachjmo[245] suəgę. ješkLęj jene-ró siwą-ró škba jenę-wa idua wéigawagęterá. jé-ró idua wəkata.

### 5. sejé tsikineL

1. sibəte sa bLá kokobLəná. jéska sitLá kégLəte sə mąLąkpajųnj kokobLó-ra. jera jéska ka mé ta. tsirú tsó ká wərta. (*2*) sibəte išá tsitLá kégLəŋa,

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[240] Literally, "*siá káŋiųkəL*" signifies "dawn for everybody."
[241] *-tə* signifies that *sibu* made or did something.
[242] *kémú* or *kéwą* is a form of "no" which is only used in myths by medicine men.
[243] As in Cabécar, there are various forms for "then." The reason is for the sound.
[244] *tso'sen* means "there is" or "there are." With *sə* it stands for "we are."
[245] "Cachimba" is an Americanism used in Spanish for pipe. It is an indigenous word.

[195]

*539 (2) *sibu* said to the large worm, "Why don't we drink in[246] a young gourd?" Then *sibu* thought of this so that[247] he [the worm] would get rid of us.

2. There was no cacao. There was no gourd. He [*sibu*] saw that there was. He broke it.[248] He heated it.[249] They drank. *sibu* made as if he drank, but he did not drink.

3. Then the large worm vomited. There he got rid of us with the basket. Then *sibu* dried us in the sun. He said this, "I am keeping my seed."

## 6. I am going to tell about the eagle (*Cabécar*)

1. The *túgwa*[250] say the large eagle ate the Indian people. [In] Cabécar, the eagle is called *Ləgap'u*. [On a] large mountain, *suLášibí*,[251] [like] a great house, there lives the large eagle. He carried people [for his] young ones to eat. The people [did] not return.

2. [A person] made a *chonta*[252] cage. A person entered. The eagle carried the person in his claws. [The person] brought a pejibaye[253] rod to kill him.

3. The eagle raised him to *suLášibí*. He carried the person high in the air. He saw the sea. He carried the person. He put him [on] *suLášibí*.

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"jirəwągLə ká-séte[254] tsirú báL še mé duLuná ną?" jéra je bigətsa sibəte ró sejé təwəgLətsą́iwą.

2. ká tsirú-ta ká mé-ta. išie teisųą tsǫ́ jeiró. butsáite. bawąite. šaite sibə jek šauateišəgé nębi, atára kate išeguna.

3. ŋeró[255] tsitLá kegLə chuLtuajųmi. jéska sejé tuaktsajte kokobLá-ra jegəpa sibəte só páktsiwą́ne kǫ́Lbaga. teiša jeró, "s-ditsó bLagę́."

## 6. šis mą išə Ləgap'u[256]

1. təwa išə Ləgap'u tąj sąkówak šugúta. sąkąská,[257] Ləgap'u kię́ Ləgap'u. kábəta[258] tąj, ju ikəbi, suLášibí, eska isęrgę Ləgap'u tąj. pé migęiwą išibaLá šakə še, kai dəté sertsó.

2. wąite dikatəgLə kaLgLa.[259] sertsó jie-jekpatkaua. Ləgap'u sertsó clemira. ketkə datewa eiktugLuwą́wá.

3. Ləgap'u butsagaj-te suLášibí. sertsó menéwą siwą́ kəbi.[260] daše sųai-te. sertsó menéiwą. mągąi-te suLášibí.

[246] Literally, "with."
[247] Literally, "is."
[248] I.e., broke the gourd off.
[249] I.e., the cacao.
[250] This is one of the clans the medicine men come from. *See* Social Organization.
[251] Name of a high forest land at the source of the Tiliri River.
[252] A stilt palm (*Iriartea* sp.).
[253] The Cabécares say that a *chonta* or *pejibaye* knife is understood as that is all they had in those days
[254] *-séte* is akin to a double negative.
[255] There is no reason except sound for the varied forms of "then."

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4. The eagle did not eat him. The eagle brought his young ones another person for them to eat. The young ones ate him. The eagle slept. (*2*) [The person] went forth with the pejibaye rod to kill the companion of the eagle. [The eagle] turned to stone. The eagle fell into the lagoon.

5. Flames burned in the water. The owner [of the lagoon] came out furious. The frightened man entered the cage. (*2*) He threw a rope. He lowered himself [down] the cliff. He told it to others. Because of this he died.

### 7. Multiplication of People (*Cabécar*)

1. The [human] race was only men. There was one sister. She cooked only fish. The brothers asked her, "Where did you catch the fish?" (*2*) The sister answered, "Your brother-in-law gave me this." The eldest brother asked, "Who is my brother-in-law?"

2. At night he waited to see the person. He saw a large jaguar arrive where his sister was sleeping. The jaguar[181] gave the sister something. (*2*) The brother quietly pulled out an arrow as he was there. He shot it. The jaguar fled. The sister became very angry.

3. [When] dawn came, she went after her husband. The youngest brother [remained] alone weeping. He went after his sister. He saw that a road went into the water. He went over[182] this. There was a house. There was his sister.

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4. Lɘgap·u katei-te. šibaLaiá pé kuǫwá Lɘgap·u dateiwą kɘtɘite. šibaLá eikatawąi-te. Lɘgap·u kapaų. (*2*) deksąų ketkɘ LɘgLɘwá wapé Lɘgap·u. idęunę ják. Lɘgap·u jąnáwą digLɘna.

5. tsini wɘwgaLu digLɘ jarga. Lɘgap·u wagɘ kɘsigašé deksąų. suá-še jɘšišiwa teisuane jek-patkawą dika·gɘkaLgLɘ. (*2*) tsá kagąi-te jákri. jąną-wá. i-pakaite sikauaja. jenewa i-šɘnawa.

### 7. sɘjerstsɘ juar

1. kɘšɘibawá rɘ́ jɘšišiwaebɘ. ikuta rɘ́ egLawɘą. jete nįmą ebɘ Liwegę́-i-kɘwate ichagá, "mąį bete nįmą tsęgeną?" (*2*) i-kutate ikuga, "bɘ dwá jenęte imęgę́-sią-rɘ́." ike kɘbíte iša baiše, "širɘ rɘ́ sdawáną?"

2. tɘwiną ikįtsąwąjte wagé sųągLɘiwą. sųąjtera namą́ ktąj dagaųtɘ mąj ikuta kɘpɘ gęska. jete jiró chemá ikutąŋą. (*2*) ikɘte jukabata tsątsą bitaba iduLbí. tkaite. namą́ tųr. ikųta uLunąwą ktąj.

3. ką ŋínąwąrą, imęnę ijišiší tugį. ike batásku ataná jįą ebɘ. imęnę ikuta tugį. sųąjtera digLaną ŋąLa damįju. je gįga imęnę. ju katę étka. jeska ikuta kaLu.

[176] Literally, *Lɘgɘ* (Royal) *p'u* (Hawk).
[177] *ką* (place) *sąká* (Cabécar or Talamanca). Literally, "our place."
[178] This word also means "volcano."
[179] The complete phrase: *dikatagLa kaLgLɘ* signifies a *chonta* cage.
[180] Literally, "peak."
[181] Literally, "This one."
[182] Literally, "on top of."

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4. The brother asked the sister, "Why did you come?" She answered her brother, "I came to return [to] this place." Thus they conversed together.

5. He heard the jaguar roar. The jaguar said to the woman [and] her brother, "We shall live in the house." They all went to work. When they returned, then everything was cooked. Thus it happened daily.

### 8. *serike*'s Mother (*Bribri*)

1. *serike*'s mother is the daughter of *itsǫ́*. *serike* is eight men [in one]. He once wanted to go with a woman. *itsǫ́* ate [*serike*'s] mother. Then they [the family] became angry with their grandfather. Afterwards they went where the world ends. (*2*) But then they said to their grandfather, "We will return to see you within four days. You remain waiting for us here." Then [*serike*] went where his old grandmother [was[363]].

2. Four days went by. He returned right away to see his grandfather. Then he [*serike*] put plumes on his head. He met his grandfather. Then he carried away the root[364] to kill him. (*2*) Then we see much wind blowing.[365] This happens in the summer all the time.

### 9a. The Stone Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the stone jaguar. Everywhere *sibu* made the

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4. ikəte íchagá ikutąną, "jirəwągLə bə betena?" ike kugaite, "sbitə-jika ką mįnąną." jebibə ikta ŋąra.

5. ksaitera namą́ uLurgę́. namą́te iša iLagLə́ŋą šəbuku bəkeŋą, "sąte senewemi jujarga." jiewą migę kLabé škablə. biguge danera, jirə bikəLe tsǫ LiLəjka. jerə kegarra.

### 8. serike amí

1. serike amí-rər itsǫ́ aLabusi. serike rər pagəL wepa. emí ké ą́ aLakarpa tą́ e-tagLətą. itsǫ́-tə[366] imí kate-wa. nęę iepa uLųna iduo-kį. ukaska i-michórąk wę ką-ŋak wəbLerkęę. (*2*) ę́rə étą iduó ą́ i-cheąt, "ką́ tkeL-ŋįwową sarəmęLę bəsəuk. je mąąte sá kistsək." nęę i-michoe iujkékeLasąk.

2. ką́re tkeL-ŋįwowatą. iškəąnąmęLę iduó šuLə́nmeLe. étą iwə́kir-kį dukə tuLákąiwą́. iduó kųwą étą ikuąmiwą[367] ujtéwą. (*2*) étą sé-tsó isuúktą simǫé buLar taíe. é wambLéke duás kékara.

### 9a. ják namą́

1. šis-mą išə namą́ ják. jíska sibəte išəwa namą́ ják tsəwaiaégLə.

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[363] Literally, "it was."
[364] I.e., the grandfather who is considered the root of the family.
[365] Literally, "sounds."
[366] Here *tə* signifies action.
[367] *ikuą* is root; *miwą* is carried away.

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* 539 stone jaguar small. *oLobosją*[299] [who is a] man was watching. He slept. (*2*) He saw [that the stone jaguar] had passed. He sent the kingfisher [and] the cormorant after [him]. He awoke. He sent searchers. *oLobosją* was going to eat him. He passed through the center of the sea. He remained on the earth.

### 9b. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*, another version of the Stone Jaguar)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. *sibu* made this earth for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile he [the water-jaguar] passed. He woke up. . (*2*) Then *serike* sent a cormorant to look for him [the water-jaguar] to eat. The road of the water-jaguar goes within the sea. He stays here in this place.

### 9c. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*) (Version 3)

1. [The water-jaguar] goes up the flowing river. *oLobosją* is there where this river ends. The water-jaguar goes up this [i.e., the river]. He eats us. When the river rises high, then the water carries us away. Then he eats us.

2. Then *serike* comes to carry him beneath the mountains. [From] there he takes the water-jaguar [and] carries him to *oLobosją*. (*2*) *serike* comes. He comes with wind, with rainstorms. The river rises [and] he arrives to fight with *bukubLura* who carried off the mother of *serike*.

3. To this place he carries everything he finds as he carries the devil to give him to *oLobosją* to eat. When it thunders then *oLobosją* [is] hungry.

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*oLobosją* jošišiwa mege iswą. kapawą. (*2*) swąitera ikawmi. trak patkaite, tǫgLo patkaite itogi. škįnagą. išulak patkaite. oLobosją te i-kate-géwa. tkagen doše[300] šaną. atanagę ji kágj sokata.

### 9b. dí-namą́

1. šis mą išo dí-namą́. ką ji šuá sibote sejeną. jošišíwá káLu ikónana. i-kapáųa. jedLéška i-jkájų. škįnaga. (*2*) jégipa serikete tógLo patká išoLo katéite. dí-namą́ ŋą́La tkówró doše šawą. jiska kagi i-atańágę́.

### 9c. dí-namą́

1. jí digLo ramúu jenena ítkageųra. oLobosją káLme jí digLo ŋájkuko ska. dí-namą́ rogetęų jete sejé katágewą. mígą digLo pąr tąj, jera digLową so manę́tsęmi. jera jiete so katáwą.

2. jera serike botagene itsąmi kąbta rgina. jéska jiete i-šegesą míge-ne oLobosją ją. (*2*) serike botagera. idatse sjwą́ ra kLįra. digLo pąr gera bukubLura nájpegę serikera jenero imina-ná maLetLotsejwa.

3. ką jéré bigúLe kuąite nębi boiro je migęneiwą oLobosją chową-gLa. mígą ką buLąrge jera oLobosją blišatá.

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[299] Many spirit names are formed by components of the words for the sacred stones and the buzzard (*see* Songs: *Song of the Buzzard Dance*) or by the words themselves. Thus in *oLobosją* we have *oLo* (buzzard in Cabécar; in Bribri *oLo*) and *sią* (the over-all term for the sacred stones).

[300] Also means "salt."

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## 10. *serike* and the Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. In the beginning *sibu* made this place for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile the water-jaguar passed. He woke up. (*2*) Then *serike* sent the cormorant to look for [him so that] he could eat [him]. The road of the water-jaguar passes through the sea. Here in this place he remained.

## 11. *ók-namą́-te*[270] (*Cabécar*)

1. *ók-namą́-te* protects us. In the time of[271] pregnancy then he sleeps. Then the water-jaguar passes to bother us. When we drown[272] in the water then he drinks us like cacao. (*2*) He considers[273] us as ripe cacao. He breaks [it[274] and] he puts [it] on his back. He goes with this from pool to pool[275] [saying] "let's drink cacao." People do not believe him.

2. Where the owner of the pool says, "Good," then there he drinks us. Then he throws away our body. Then *ók-namą́* awakes. He sees [that] the weeds are dry.[276] Then he passes quickly. He sends the cormorant to look for [him] with *serike*.

3. The water-jaguar [is] bad. Because of this he hides far away. But there *serike* takes [him]. (*2*) All who drink cacao like this *serike* carries all to *ók-namą́*.

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## 10. serikete dí-namą́

1. šís mą iša dí-namą́. ką jí šuá sibote ságatə sə-jéŋą. jašíšíwá káLu ikónana. i-kapáųa. jedLéiska i-jkájų. škįnagą. (*2*) jégipa serikete tógLə patká išəLə kətéi-te. dí-namą́ ŋąLagi tkáju ró dəše šą́wa. jiska kagi i-atanagę́.

## 11. ók-namą́-te

1. ók-namą́-te sejé kənanęgę́. bigugę́ bukLu[277] késka jera jié kapajánami. jera dí-namą́ tkagęjų́ sejé wabLéwą. bigugé sejé šénawą́ digLó-ná jera jiéte sə šawą́ tsiru šé. (*2*) sejé sųąite tsiró Li. butsəgękšąite je megégai-te itikigi. je-wa imigę́ tipə etkə, etka, "sə tsirú šə." ka pəte ikuge.

2. maj tipə guaguá teišá, "ajə," jera jéaka sejé šegę́wąite. jera sə kuLítə jųájtsąite.[278] jera ók-namą́ škinagá. teisuęgę́ kakó tsinatuLamí. jera ijkájų békti. togLə patkegęi-te išuLə serike-ra.

3. dí-namą́ rə seLwí. je-kueigi jekbLagę́ komi. jera jéaka serike teišegę́tsą. (*2*) kLabete tsiró ša jegəpi kLabé migę serike-wą ók-namą́-ją.

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[270] This spirit guards the entrance to the world under the sea.
[271] Literally, "when."
[272] Literally, "die."
[273] Literally, "looks at."
[274] I.e., us.
[275] Literally, "pool other other."
[276] The mark of the water on the vegetation on the river banks is a sign of flood.
[277] A pregnant woman is said to be *bukLu*. The idea is that something evil or dangerous is in her (*see* Tabus).
[278] This signifies that the body is washed to the river bank and floats.

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*539 4. The pot of *ók-namá* is large. He cooks [the water-jaguar] in this. Afterwards he eats [him]. If *ók-namą́* were not protecting us then the water-jaguar would have terminated us.

### 12. *onombrasén* (*Cabécar*)

1. It gave blood. Stone jaguar drank cacao. *onombrasén* [did] not. He sent stone jaguar to drink hot cacao. [He sent] the cormorant quickly after [him] to watch him. He sent the kingfisher quickly to see where he was drinking cacao.

### 13. The Jaguar Footprint (*Cabécar*)

1. *sibu* made [the sun] here on top. *sibu* made them [the monkey and the peccary] here. The sun was born alone. *sibu* did not [want it] to light on top. It became night. There were no moon [nor] stars.

2. They went together well, the monkey [and] peccary, brother-in-laws.[279] They went ahead of many people. The peccary brother-in-law quickly arrived in soft mud. (*2*) They could not find the peccary.[280] The Borucas [said that in] the morning they would come to look for him. The monkey arrived [and] many people behind. They did not find [him].

3. The brother-in-law of the monkey did not die. They looked for him in Térraba. Huge *Ɨəwík*[281] arrived. This was the *Ɨəwik* who came on the road, between the brooks,[282] savannas, water, [and] soft mud. (*2*) He put his paw upon a stone. The print remained on top the stone. *Ɨəwik* died here.

4. ók-namą́-wą ų ktąi kábLagLi. jenenájte Líwęgę́. túgiga ikətegęwai-te. ka ók-namą́ gųna gəpi sejé tsátkə jera dí-namą́-te sə ewąwąjka.

### 12. onombrasén

1. pi megę́ite tsiró še. ják-namą́-te tsirə šá. onombrasén ka. ják-namą́ pátkei-te tsiró-baL[283] šó. tógLə békti tugiga isųá. trák pátkei-te békti šəją mai tsiró šegega.

### 13. namą́ tó

1. sibəte išuwa jiska ikíga. jiska sibəte jiewa šuwa. káwó tsəgina egLawęą.. kái sibə kíga ikiane wəŋar. kątəwináwą. təLu ka-ta beku kata.

2. ŋara i-migę bəi, saL sini, idəware. taj buLi sertsə ŋaLawətsą. səni dəwa beti daLi səwjną. (*2*) ka səni conę. buLia brane ikwą buLcagte. saL dəwá təga sertsə taj. kai koné.

3. saL duwá kai duné šewa. je šuLegę́ite buLat. *Ɨəwik* taj idəwa. jerə šəwík rau̧ ŋaLągi, digLə šabaLána, sək, digLə, duLi səwjna. (*2*) juLa magą ják batagi. ikLásku tó ataná ják gi. *Ɨəwík* duąwą jeska.

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[279] This is a term used endearingly. *See* Kinship Terminology for legitimate term.
[280] I.e., he disappeared in the mud.
[281] This signifies the great jaguar.
[282] Literally, "small rivers."
[283] Literally this means that the chocolate is ready to drink.

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### 14. Jaguar Hunt (*Cabécar*)

1. Before the Indians feared no one. They went to hunt. They spent much [time] in the forest then returned. One time one [person] went to hunt [and] found this house.

2. The people did not let him return.[254] They made him sleep in a clay vessel. He saw that the people went to hunt. (*2*) There they turned into jaguars. He saw that the jaguars turned [into people and] they shook themselves. The hide fell off. Then he became a person.

3. He who saw this hid the clothes. When the owners saw there were no clothes they turned into jaguars [and] ate this person. Then[255] the elder people killed the jaguar.

### 15. The Sacred Stones (*Bribri*)

1. The pool of the stones [of the medicine man], the pool of the stones, *sibu* left the stones [of the medicine man].

2. He left the pool of the stones for the world, the pool of the stones.

### 16. Tobacco (*Bribri*)

1. *sibu* is thinking[256] with us. A hummingbird came.

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### 14. ką́šuLu namą́

1. kę́r ską́wak káte jirə bigətsəta. imįgę ką́šuLə. sęrgę́ kęną tąi jegəpa iadagęnę. étabagLə egla imenę́ ką́šəLə jete ju kwą́.

2. ká-pete ipátke. skąjuína pete ikəpəwą. sųą́i-tera pé mígę kášəLə. (*2*) jéską ijąrgę namą́ še. pé jiššiwá te-isųá namą́ ratsę́ nąpákpə. ikuLítə jąnátsą. jera tsértsə-ira.

3. je pé te-isųą, téipaigLə bLáwa. bigúge iguaguá te-isųąra kái-páigLə juəna jera išanáne namą́ še jéte tsertsə katáwą. jégipa pé míkoLate namą́ ktauą.

### 15. sią́

1. sią́-ditę́,[257] sią́-dipe, sią́-męat sibu-ta.

2. sią́-dipe kąta-tęjat,[258] sią́-dipe.

### 16. duą́

1. sibu tsó-bikak[259] šątą. ŋąlotsų[260] debitę.

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[254] Literally, "sent them behind."
[255] Then *or* afterwards *or* later.
[256] Literally, "curing" as the medicine men do is implied here and not thinking.
[257] This signifies a place, i.e., the sacred pool in Talamanca where the stones "live."
[258] Medicine man's word.
[259] Medicine man's word.
[260] Medicine man's term.

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*539 2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

### 17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

## Sacred Songs

### 18. The Staff of the Thinkers[291] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsǫ́* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsǫ́*.

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2. "anaų́," isuebškaLa,[292] "mų-suešə." duą́-bitę́, duą́-uąLowa[293] iriria.[294]

### 17. šipə

1. ę́ tsą́ kųLę́isúk,[295] etą sibu kirínawą. étą sibutə šipə kić ébuaų́k[296] mętLę. étą sibutə šipə patkęmį. ę́ tsą́ kųLę́itsúk.

2. šipə mią i-tsą́ kųLę́isúk. étą i-mią tsək.[297] emę kéwą iujchenę, tə[298] i-ruówami. buLame-tą sibutə ịchake i-ą́tə, "šə-ruówąmi?"

3. šipə ių́té, "tó bu-ruówąmi." ę́ kuęgį sibutə šipə jkó tuwą i-wəbLar ką́chək.

### 18. bišəbLə-kar-keLi[299]

1. ęmatą́ səmį uiąchó.
səmį itsǫ́ tsų́k wę sərá ibLókwą,
ę itsųk męLę.

2. dé-męLę wę́lke,[300] étą səmíketkę́ tsək itsǫ́ wós.

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[291] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."

[292] Medicine man's term.

[293] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.

[294] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *ĩų́ək* means "land" or "earth."

[295] This word is a combination of *kųLę́* (to cure) and *isų́k* or *itsų́k* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.

[296] This only means to cure.

[297] The lay word "to sing" is *tsų́k* or *tsək*.

[298] *tə* here in front of *i* signifies "if."

[299] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."

[300] *u* is "house." This word means "within the house."

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### 19. *dikúswa*[301] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikúswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikúswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikúswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[302] You will never die." (*2*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikúswa* to cure us.

## Lay Songs

### 20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *kúsuwa*], dance [of *kúsuwa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

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### 19. dikúswa

1. ẹ́tsą́ kụLẹ́,[303] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikúswa[304] patkęmį ẹ́tsą́ kụLẹ́-i-tsúk. buLáme-tą, sibu-tə dikúswa ichakę, "šu-ruówami?"

2. dikúswa-tə iątẹ́, "ké bu-ruókua. be-ęo emę. ké be-ruókwą šųtę.[305] (*2*) ó-kuęgi sibu-tə dikúswa[306] meąt-eé buąúnmeLe.

### 20. buLtakuLe[307]

1. kaogęgą[308] kaageé jaegaange[309] kaanjé jaegagag.
kaanjé egaange kaanjé.

2. ta-kuęą,[310] kuen-dí,[311] ta-kuen-dí, Ląn[312]-dí,
ta-soLoLa soLari,
ta-daa-donchi.
jẹ́[313]-iberke ikaetą́, jẹ́-iberke jẹ́n.

3. kaanjejeé[314] jekaa jéeé.

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[552]
[778]
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[172]

[301] This is the medicine man's song against sickness.

[302] I.e., that you are sick.

[303] *kụLẹ́* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kụLẹ́*.

[304] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the cuyeo.

[305] This also means "nothing."

[306] The connotation is that the bird, *dikúswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikúswa*.

[307] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.

[308] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient *Térraba*.

[309] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.

[310] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.

[311] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle.

[312] *See* Theological Beliefs.

[313] *jẹ́* and *jẹ́n* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *kúsuwa*.

[314] These sounds signify adornments.

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4. There is the turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
(*2*) Shell pool,[215] devil pool, dance of *kúsuma*, dance [of *kúsuma*].
(*3*) *Ledj*[216] horizon,[217] beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon, beautiful horizon.

5. Brave child, beautiful horizon, brave child he, ended brave.

6. *See* Linguistic Text.

7. I say nothing more.

### 21. The Dance of *duLęto*[218] (*Bribri*)

1. The elders are going to [dance] *duLęto*;
Let's go [dance] *duLęto*;
Let's dance; now let's walk. (*2*) In the front place there is no place to see.

2. Sir,[219] sir, *masLakésLa.*[220]
It touches, touches [the other world].
Lari river does not touch, touch.

---

4. juekoko koaenje ta-kuea, kuen-dí, ta-kuen-dí, Ląn-dí, ta-səLəLa səLanchi, ta-doə-donchi.
(*2*) tadon-dí,[221] suen[222]-dí, iberke kosa ję́-iberke.
(*3*) ję́-Ledj ta-mątedia ta-Lotedia, ta-nąwengiwę,[223] ta-nąwendia, taigewendiaLe, taigewendiaLe.

5. ta-natę́ manbLi,[224] taigewendiaLe, ta-natę́-i-manbLi, taiLote[225] manbLi.

6. koake[226] kaajeje jaekoajeé.

7. ejke-šér-iche.

### 21. duLęta[227]

1. sképépa mi-duLęta;
mjška duLętək;
sədəLetó; iké-səška. (*2*) wəka[228] kéšą kjsąųk aje-kąni-kéta.

2. kéké, kéké, masLakésLa.[229]
i-kana, kana[230]
di-paLj Larj kei[231]-kana kana.

[535]
[825]

[215] Certain shells were part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Medicine Man's Paraphernalia).
[216] This is a name.
[217] Literally, "where ends the sky."
[218] This is a dance name as in English one says waltz or fox trot.
[219] This is a term of respect used for elders.
[220] A mountain going down the Lari River.
[221] *tadon* is the *caracol* or water snail.
[222] *suen* is Térraba for *Lon*.
[223] This and the following three words signify "to adorn."
[224] This is a Térraba word to signify "something red" or "reflects."
[225] Literally, "closed" or "finished" or "end."
[226] These three words are included for sound only.
[227] This song is in part Bribri and in part Cabécar.
[228] The following is in Cabécar.
[229] Bribri begins.
[230] "The other world" is understood here.
[231] This is Cabécar.

Bribri

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### 22. *itsǫ́*[332] (*Bribri*)

1. Then we are going to hear him sing.
We are going to bring *itsǫ́* from where we hid him,
To bring him again inside the house.
Then we are going to sing with *itsǫ́*.

### 23. Sister[333] (*Bribri*)

1. Sister where [are you] where [are you]?
Little ugly[334] sister,
Where did they hide the sick poor daughter?

2. *See* Linguistic Text.

3. Sister from what place do you come, come, come, angry [one], you come ugly [one].
From what place do you come? Where are you going?

---

### 22. itsǫ́

1. ęmatá səmį uiǫ́tsǿk.[335]
səmí itsǫ́ tsúk wę sə-rá ibLəkwaą ę,
itsųk męLę demęLę wę́ške.[336]
étą səmį-ketké tsək itsǫ́ wés.

### 23. taše

1. taše wę́-La[337]-wę́?
as[338]-taše-suLuLa,
Lá-nuLą[339]-durkį siąe[340] ibLé-durkį?

2. ąsteweste[341] westewe stewée,

3. a[342]-taše wę ká-wę́kį[343] iro-ro,[344] iro-ro, iro-ro, uLuLą, iro-suLú.
ká-iro-wé?[345] wé-La[346] irəmi?

[601]

[332] *itsǫ́* is the grandfather of *serike*.
[333] This is an affectionate term applied to cousins, brothers, sisters.
[334] This is an affectionate term. It can also mean "angry" in an affectionate sense.
[335] This signifies to pray and to sing. It is also pronounced *siátsuk*.
[336] *ą* is house. *wę́ške* is "inside the house."
[337] For sound only.
[338] For sound only.
[339] This word also means "convalescent."
[340] This word signifies "poor in spirit." The word "poor" or *siąe* is usually accompanied by a noun which denotes what one is poor in, such as land, food, etc.
[341] This whole line is for the sound only.
[342] For sound only.
[343] Literally, "in what place."
[344] *ro* here and in the two following words is for sound only.
[345] For sound only.
[346] For sound only.

Bribri

[P. 89]

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## LINGUISTIC TEXTS

### 24. Good Child, a Lullaby (*Bribri*)

1. Quietly child, don't cry,
Little ugly child, sleep quietly.
What do you say now little baby?
Baby sleep, sleep quietly.

2. Sleep, you will sleep now.
What do you say oh baby, little ugly baby?
What do you say? What do you say?
Little ugly baby, what do you say today?
Oh little ugly baby, oh little baby.

3. Oh little baby, oh little ugly baby,
Sleep quietly.
Your mother went to bring flowers.
Oh little ugly baby, be quiet.
Sleep.

### 25. The Bird (*Bribri*)

1. Oh hawk, hawk, you hawk leave.
You go high;
There I go.
You buzzard, you dry the road.
I dry the road of the buzzard.

---

### 24. áLaLa buą́

1. bęnét áLaLa, ké bé ių́k,
aLá səLúLa, bé kəpowə́ bęnét.
iŋęLa ichebə bębęLą?[247]
bębę kəpotkewəLə, kəpowə́ bęnét.

2. bé kəpotkeLə, bé kəpową́idir iŋęLa.
ichebə abębę, bębę suLúLa?
iLą ichebə? iLą ichebə?
bębę suLúLą, iŋęLa ichebə?
abębę suLą́, abębeLą.

3. abębeLą, abębę suLúLa,
bé kəpowə́.
bé mamaLą[248] miąLa mamawə e-tsúk.
abębę suLą́, bęnétLą́.
kəpətkeLəwawé.

### 25. dú

1. airəLą, irəLą, bé irəLą ję ətę.
bé-mirə kabəta;
ea šé mirə.
bé oLó, ŋą́La tsių.
šé oLó ŋą́La tsių.

[177]

[247] This is adopted from the Spanish.
[248] This is adopted from Spanish.

Bribri ,

[P.90]

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2. You glide;
I glide.
You go to the edge of the sea;
I go to the sea.

3. Oh hawk! You are carried on good wind.
Let's talk, oh hawk.
I myself am going to meet the dawn at the sea.
Wind, where are you going? Where are you going?

### 26. On the Back Song (*Bribri*)

1. Who does not touch it;
Who does not touch it;
To fling on the back the son of the monkey.

*See* Linguistic Text.

2. Who does not fling on the back the son of the white-faced monkey.
To fling on the back

*See* Linguistic Text.

Song the son of the sloth,
To fling on the back.

*See* Linguistic Text.

---

2. bé eeLaó;
šé eeLaó.
bé miro dašé-jkoo;
šé miro-La[339] dašé.

3. airaLą! bé butaką simóbLu[340] buae-kj.
sjto-Lą,[341] airaLą.
šé imiṇa kanjnta dašé.
węLa bé miro simó? węLa bé-mi?

### 26. tiŋjką tsé

1. ši keto ketaiké;[342]
ši keto ketaiké;
sąL-aLą tiŋjką.
Lajesą.[343]

2. ši keto tiŋjką ok-aLą.
tiŋjką
Lajesą
tsé sinąL-aLą,
tiŋjką
Lajesą.

[339] This is a term of endearment.
[340] Literally, *simóbLu* signifies "wind king."
[341] *-Lą* is a term of endearment.
[342] Double negative.
[343] For sound only.

Bribri

* 539

3. Who does not fling himself on the back,
Song of the great person,
To fling on the back.

4. *See* Linguistic Text.
Great *sibu*, to fling himself on the back,
*See* Linguistic text.
Who does not fling himself on the back.

### 27. Water Jaguar, Water Jaguar (*Bribri*)

1. Water jaguar, water jaguar,
There are many [who] eat one another,
Don't be afraid,
Water jaguar, water jaguar.

2. There are many jaguars [who] eat one another,
Don't be afraid,
Water jaguar, water jaguar.

3. Eat those large snakes,
Don't be afraid,
Water jaguar, water jaguar.

3. Ši ketə tiųjką,
tsé biká-bLutə[284]
tiųjką.

4. Lajeme[285]
sibu-bLutə, tiųjką
Ląjé[286]
Ši ketə tiųjką.

### 27. dí-na, dí-namą́

1. dí-na,[287] dí-namą́.
tsǿ tąj ŋj-katágęwą,
ké bé suaną-šakį,
dí-na, dí-namą́.

2. numą́ tsǿ tąj ŋj-katágę,[288]
ké bé suanašą́,[289]
dí-na, dí-namą́.

3. tkəbé ktąj-ŋjəę katəwą,
ké bé suaną,
dí-na, dí-namą́.

---

[284] *-bLutə* literally means "great" or "a personage." At times this word is used for "king."
[285] For sound only.
[286] For sound only.
[287] An abbreviation for sound.
[288] The difference in the termination between this and *katágęwą* is for sound only.
[289] The difference in this termination and *suaną-šakį* is for sound only.

Bribri

### 28. Chicha Song[880] (*Bribri*)

1. What do you think [that] I [can] not grind "chilate"?
Then you will not catch him making good chicha!
You catch him as a good brave [man].

2. You catch him with the good chicha that you make.
Catch him, poor dear, He's a person.
Then listen now to what I told you.

### 29. Fighting Song (*Bribri*)

1. Grasshopper, grasshopper, large alligator, large alligator
Large alligator [which between themselves] eat [one another],
I am not afraid [of alligators].
Large snake, large snake, large snake,
[Which between themselves] eat [one another],
I am not afraid [of snakes].

2. Grasshopper, grasshopper, grasshopper, grasshopper, large alligator,
The large snake eats the grasshopper, eats the grasshopper.

---

### 28. bLó tsé

1. ímą́Lą męrkə ké-šeą šuLarLą, ŋąrLa,[881] úrwą?
ké ę́mata bəikLə wę-sų́ bLó-bLą, šabLą,[882] bų́ą.
bəikLəwę-sų́ keria bų́ą.

2. bəikLəwę-sų́ bLó-bLą bų́ą.
ikLəwe-sų́, iseLątą, sé idír.
ígętą ŋęe jsé šemįą[883] iché.

### 29. iŋį́jpək tsé

1. dítsik, dítsik-ma,[884] tLók tąį́, tLók tąį́-ma,
tLók tąį́ iŋį-kətewa,
kibí šé suar-išokį.
tkəbé tąį́, tkəbé tąį́-ma, tkəbé tąį́,
iŋį-kətewa,
kibí še suar-išək.

2. dítsik, dítsik-ma, dítsik, dítsik-ma, tLók tąį́,
kətę tkəbé tąį́, dítsik kətę.

---

[880] This song represents two women squabbling over a man.
[881] For sound only.
[882] For sound only.
[883] This form makes it clear that it is "I" and not another person.
[884] The suffix -*ma* is for sound only.

Bribri

[P.93]

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## LINGUISTIC TEXTS

### 30. Cemetery Song (*Bribri*) (Version 1)

1. [385] [like] a man
Let's try,
Let's not worry, brave says,
Boy for whom.

2. In the afternoon, in the morning,
Like an alligator,
A strong boy.
In the afternoon, like a jaguar,
Like an alligator,
Let's try,
Like *serike*, *serike*.

3. [like] a jaguar, like he himself,[386]
Let's try,
Boy let's not worry,
Don't be afraid
For whom do you come?

4. When *serike*, man, boy,
To bring stones,
Now man, now for whom boy like a man,

---

### 30. apú tsok

1. jóikíjóojó* webLasų́ jó*
amąú-so, jóreigeLa* jó*
kó-soę́ndiar, diLo jó* chegę,
jó* aLa-webLa jó* šiçurą́, jó*

2. tšą́L-jtą, jó* bLuLáme jójójó,*
toLók-sų́ jó*,
aLa-igeLa jó*.
tšą́L-jtą jó*, nųmu-sų́, jó*
toLók-sų́ jó*,
mąų́-so jó*,
tserkes-sų́ serike jó*.

3. nųj-namą́[387] jó* wak-sų́ jó*,
ąmąų-so jó* jójó* kirigi* jójó*,
aLa-webLa jó* kó-ędiar jó*,
kó-suar jó*
šięrwa jó* ídǫ jó*?

4. serke jó* miktą jó*, webLa jó* kebinjó*, aLa-webLa,
jó* ják súk jó*,
webLa igé, jó* šięrwa jó* aLa-webLa igę́ jó* webLa-sų́ jó*,

[764]

[385] This is a song used for carrying or hauling heavy logs or stones to the cemetery. Almost every other word is an exclamation. Such words are indicated in the linguistic text by an asterisk.

[386] Le, the jaguar.

[387] A Cabécar manner of saying *di-namą́*.

Cabecar
Bribri

[P.99]

#539

Like the devil himself,
Let's try,
Good man, Talamanca,
Oh man, the devil returned.

### 30. Cemetery Song (*Bribri*) (Version 2)

1. Now let's raise the stone and fling it on our shoulders,
   It is said [to show] braveness [not] through [anger but] strength now [hauling the stone].
2. Now let's try, a man [should] not [be] afraid.
   Boy, don't be sad.
   Now let us try like a jaguar,
   Let us try like a monkey hawk,
   Let us try like an alligator.
3. [Fling it on] the shoulder,
   Let us try like *serike* himself.[illegible]

### 31. Child Caress, a Lullaby (*Cabécar*)

1. Rock-a-bye baby, sleep.
   Mother went to look for flowers.

---

kritam jó* wak-eą́ jó*,
maą́-so jójó*,
webLa buą́, jó* kąska jó*,
a-webLa jó*, kiritam jó* demęLę jó*.

### 30. apú tsok

1. ják kugą-so pugatké-so ike,
   iLąna ińjkį ši erwaso ęrsuLú chégę.
2. iketą́ maą́-so, aLa-webLa ké šuane.
   aLa-webLa ké ęriána.
   ike maą́-so numą́ čkipi,
   maą́-so sáL-pą sųę́,
   maą́-so toLók sųę́.
3. pugátke,
   maą́-so serke nųj-namą́ wak sųę́.

### 31. šabaLá pabLewą

1. uaéaLa[illegible] bobeLa, kapową́La.
   míną-wáLa mįą mámawé tsą.

---

[illegible] Literally, "master of the water jaguar."

[illegible] Bribri word signifying the action of rocking a hammock. [illegible] is equivalent to the English "rock-a-bye."

Cabecar

### LINGUISTIC TEXTS

Sleep before because it is for us[370]
Mother comes from work to the house.

### 32. To Plant (*Cabécar*)

1. Let's go to work,
Let's plant maize,
Plant the maize well;
[When] we plant the maize, let's go.

---

rǫ́-seją-se kúpúwą́La tagi
uu[371] míną-wáLa ratsę́-kenę.

### 32. tkɔ

1. sa-ǐkɔ ǐkábLɔ,
sa-ǐkɔ kwó tkɔ,
kwó tkɔ-wą́ró boi;
kwó tkénąra, sa-ǐkone.

---

[370] I.e., the flowers are for us.
[371] Bribri word.

[P.97]
[P.96 is blank]

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# APPENDICES I–III

[P.99(A)]
[P.98 is blank]

Cabecar
Bribri

# APPENDIX I: CULTIVATED FOODS AND DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

000

## APPENDIX I: Cultivated foods and Domesticated Animals

### *BRIBRI*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 241 | rice | *árros* (corruption of the Spanish word *arroz*) |
| 262<br>192 | beans | *áturwo* or *átu* (this covers all varieties) |
| | Indian beans (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.) | *ská átu* |
| | black beans | *átu doLoLó* |
| | red bean | *átu mátkLe* |
| | butter bean | *wówo* |
| | pole bean | *átu kLóie* |
| | yuca | *aLí* |
| | black maize | *ikwó doLoLó* |
| | yellow maize | *ikwó tsikríri* |
| | white maize | *ikwó sururú* |
| | bananas | *kLóm* |
| | red banana | *kLóm mat* |

[Text continues top of P. 99(C)--Analyst]

### *CABÉCAR*

| | |
|---|---|
| yuca | *ĩkə* |
| pole bean | *kəni kaLiá* |
| black bean | *kəni doLoná* |
| red bean | *kəni matká* |
| vegetable pear | *jarwə* |
| tiquízque | *buə* |
| pejibaye | *diká* |
| seedless pejibaye | *diká jəʒerrirbə* |
| rice | *arroz* (Spanish) |
| banana | *chomǫ* |
| plantain | *kalbí* |
| pig banana | *kəchi chomǫ* |
| maize | *kwó* |
| black maize | *kwó doLəna* |
| Indian maize (varied colors on the same cob) | *sejé kaikwó* |
| pumpkin | *pis* |
| coffee[1] | *capé* (corruption of the Spanish *café*) |

[Text continues bottom of P. 99(C)--Analyst]

---

[1] On the Pacific slope, the Cabécares cultivate coffee for sale.

[P.99(C)]

Bribri
cabecar

APPENDIX I : Cultivated foods and
Domesticated Animals

## *BRIBRI*

241
262
192

| | |
|---|---|
| guineos | *chimų́* |
| plantains | *tsaLá; muá* |
| sugar cane | *pákəL* |
| United Fruit Company bananas | *síwəwə* |
| chocolate | *tsirú* |
| pumpkin | *apí* |
| swine | *káchi* |
| chicken | *tkró* |
| cow | *baca* |
| horse | *no word* |
| duck | *no word* |
| cat | *michi* |
| dog | *chíchi* |
| pejibaye | *dikó* |
| alligator pear | *amók* |

## *CABÉCAR*

| | |
|---|---|
| mango | *mango* (Spanish) |
| orange | *china* |
| chile | *iá* |
| Inga | *waLoa* |
| chocolate | *tsirá* |
| alligator pear | *jomǫ́* |
| yam | *tsəLirba* |
| sour sap | *tsá* |
| papaya | *kichə* |
| sugar cane | *paltə* |
| cow | *vaca* (Spanish) |
| pig | *kəchi* |
| chicken | *jóskiwo* |
| dog | *chichi* |
| cat | *michi* |
| turkey | *chǫ́* |
| duck | *pato* (Spanish) |
| horse | *caballo* (Spanish) |

[P. 100(A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

## FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE[*]

### (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

Constituents are measured and in quantities of 100 grams.

146
262

| | | Red Variety | Yellow Variety |
|---|---|---|---|
| Humidity | gm. | 36.4 | 49.6 |
| Ether extract | " | 8.17 | 3.53 |
| Crude fiber | " | 0.8 | 1.1 |
| Nitrogen | " | 0.633 | 0.401 |
| Ashes | " | 1.12 | 0.86 |
| Calcium | mg. | 14.4 | 8.9 |
| Phosphorous | " | 55.2 | 46.1 |

[Text continues top of p. 100(B)--Analyst]

## PLANT LIST WITH USES

### BRIBRI

824

| | | *Latin* | *Use* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | tsíLi | *Heliocarpus Excelsior* | hammocks, rope, carrying bags |
| [283] | kúrk | *Cecropia* sp. | to make fiber (burillo) |
| | akuk-kLə | *Croton Glabellus* | for incense of copal |
| [278] | kúLí | *Costus* sp. | for fever—mash stem and boil |
| [342] | tsáchica | *Menispermacen Aesampeln* | used in building house instead of nails |
| [278] | təbéchica | *Cissus* sp. | use whole vine, for colds, etc. |
| | dipáchica | *Eupatorium Vitalbae* | fish poison |
| | duáskLə | *Vernonia Patens* | to stop nose bleed; use leaf |

[Text continues middle of p. 100(B)--Analyst]

### CABÉCAR

824

| | | *Latin* | *Use* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 278 | harbə | *Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri | fish poison |
| | chatə | *Serjania* sp. | fish poison |
| | | *Pothomorphe piperaceae* | boil leaf; bathe children with liquid and wrap in mastate to cause perspiration |
| [381] | botuLá | *Eufobia sapisom* | glue |
| | chicarté | *Bocconia frutescans* | boil the root and drink the liquid for stomach pains |

[Text continues bottom of p. 100(B)--Analyst]

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[*] English: Peach Palm.

Bribri
Cabecar

## FOOD VALUE OF THE PEJIBAYE [2]

### (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey)

146
262

| | | *Red Variety* | *Yellow Variety* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Iron | mg. | 1.16 | 1.31 |
| Carrotin | " | 1.945 | 1.493 |
| Thiamine | " | .070 | .037 |
| Riboflavin | " | .140 | .099 |
| Niacin | " | 1.945 | 1.493 |
| Ascorbic Acid | " | 22.9 | 41.4 |

## PLANT LIST WITH USES

### BRIBRI

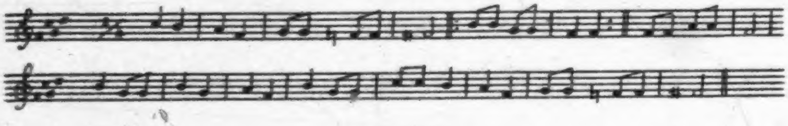
| | | *Latin* | *Use* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 824<br>[278] | chichikagru | *Smilax* sp. | root is grated, boiled and liquid drunk for Parkinson's disease |
| [845] | apískicha | *Gouania* | Mother whose child has died bathes with this. The whole vine is used. |
| [272<br>844] | sɔ́jkɔ | *Cymbopogon citratus* | for tea and washing skin of new born |
| | klokɔ | *P. auritum* H.B.&K | for tea and washing skin of new born |
| | širekɔ | *Miconia impetiolaris* D.Don | for tea and washing skin of new born |

### CABÉCAR

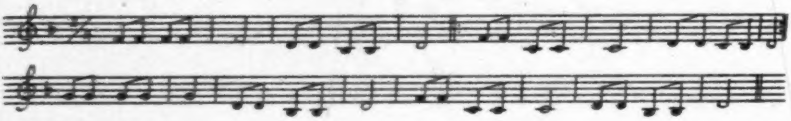
| | | *Latin* | *Use* |
|---|---|---|---|
| [278] | popolí | *Protium* sp. | boil resin and drink liquid to stop vomiting |
| [386] | bóLk | *Melastomaceae* sp. | make red dye from the leaf without cooking it |
| [515] | | *Solanacia* sp. | for teeth, mash leaf to clean them |
| [278] | | *Pepperomia* sp. | for heart |

# APPENDIX II: MUSICAL SCORES OF TWO BRIBRI SONGS

*dina-di-nemé*



*buLtakuLe*



# APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

642 CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present
[643] era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

It is most probable that the title of King
[177] among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

721 At the beginning of the 19th century and
628 without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

643 There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the
643 National Congress passed a law signed by the President of the Republic making the Tala-
648 mancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

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[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148-49.

# APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

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643 648 capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

643 578 Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

[669] But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLwak* clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

643 648 [682] In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

643 [644] As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old, Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

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[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

[P103(A)]

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

[301] [292] [293] His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

643 797 648 The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

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[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 in the progress and development of his people
797 and of the satisfaction he derived from the
648 visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the
government of Nueva Granada in its desire to
take over Talamanca and the awareness and
interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican
authorities and caused them to establish a farming
and military colony called "San Bernardo."
This weakened the power of King Antonio
and he became more the nominal than active
head of the Talamancans.

643 The King made various trips to San José.
648 The first took place in 1882, when he visited
the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to
dinner by President Fernández. On this occasion
[262] he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad
and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit.
In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital
where he gave rise to many more anecdotes
filled with picturesque details.[8]

Antonio had a tendency to take the law into
his own hands. On more than one occasion,
[439] he engaged in smuggling merchandise from
Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare
up against the Costa Rican authority in the
region, particularly when he had had an excess
of liquor. This happened frequently and
created difficulties and problems which had
much to do with his loss of power and respect.
Once it was even said, and not without basis,
that he tried to poison the Bishop and other
priests.

643 Concerning his private life, it is known that
644 he married twice. His first wife was Oleria,
the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan
Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor,
he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino,
Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest
of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña.
[613] This is important because the lineage is inherited
by the feminine side and the King's
eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir.
José was distinguished looking, tall, thin,
bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of
January, 1910, during the celebration of a

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[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175-76.

[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573-96.

[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156-57.

[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.

643 funeral feast. It is said that his death was due to having mistakenly drunk tincture of iodine. What is probably the truth is that he was poisoned because of personal hatreds. Kohkemper[11] recounts the version which seems most acceptable. He states that Antonio fell out with an Indian woman and she poisoned him and afterwards met the same fate.

José, the nephew, died a few days later. It is not known whether his death was due to natural or violent causes. With his passing, the kingship of Talamanca remained vacant.

Some years after this, the French traveler
[292] Périgny, found the insignias of royalty well
[301] preserved. These included a headdress of eagle

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[11] Kohkemper, 1954, p. 60.

643 292 feathers and the necklace with six large golden eagles, the remaining testimony of the last monarch in Costa Rica.

[301] In 1957, a group of Bribri Indians from Talamanca brought a headdress of eagle plumes, fashioned in the same manner as the one used by King Antonio, to the National Museum of Costa Rica. They asked that it be placed near the portrait in oil, dating from 1892, of the deceased ruler (fig. 14). This hangs in one of the halls of the museum and shows [301] King Antonio Saldaña with his royal jewels. This gesture is evidence that the memory of the last king has not been forgotten and that in spite of his debilities he remains important in the traditions of his people.

[P. 107 (A)]
[PP. 105-106 contain no textual material]

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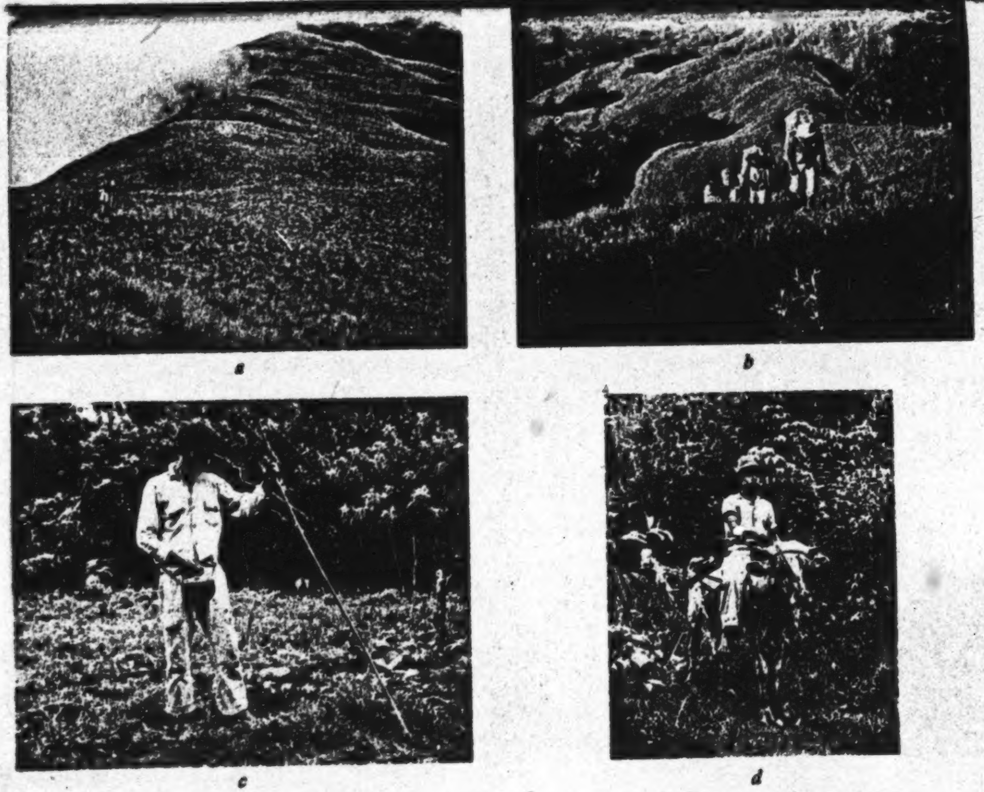
6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

133
137
241
291
482
492



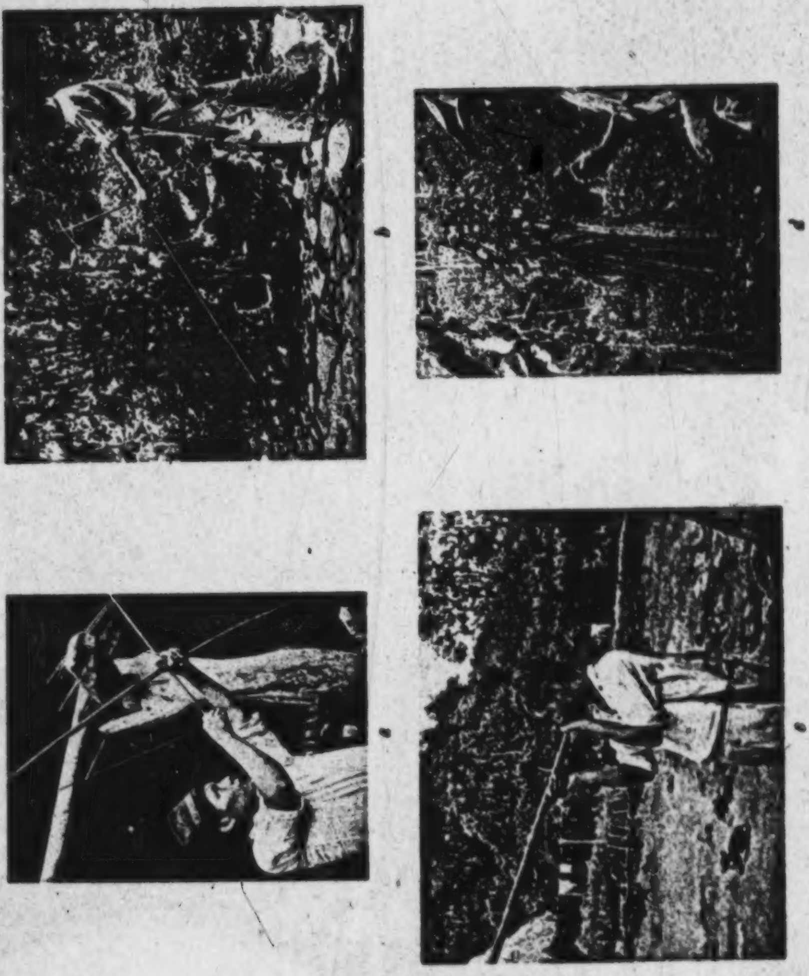
*a-b*, Savannas by Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *c*, Planting in Ujarrás, Pacific slope. *d*, Bribri riding an ox, Pacific slope.

[End Plate 1]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

142
231
226
291
411
417



a, Method of shooting a bow and arrow. b, Shooting fish. c, Using a blow gun. d, Shelter for chickens.

[END Plate 2]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri
Cabecar

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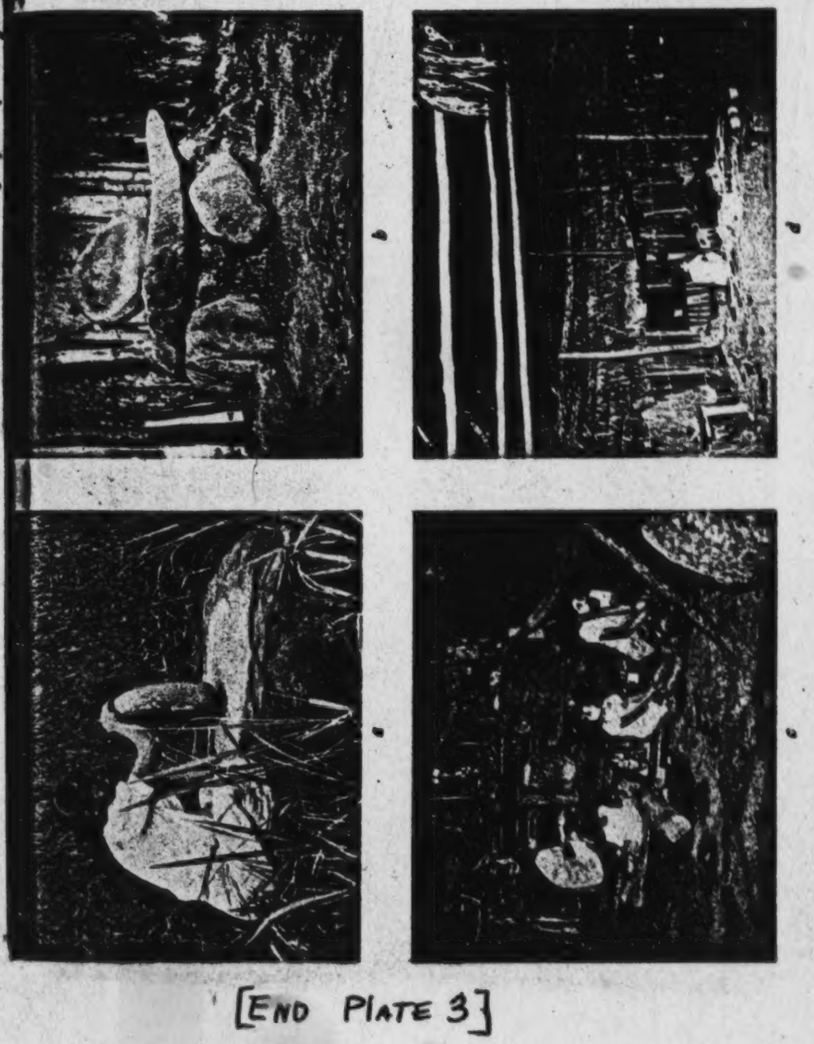
252
353
354
412
516



*a*, Natural mealing stone in a savanna. *b*, Natural mealing stone in a house. *c*, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. *d*, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[End Plate 3]

Bribri
Cabecar

Peabody Museum Papers

Vol. XLIII, No. 1, Figure 5

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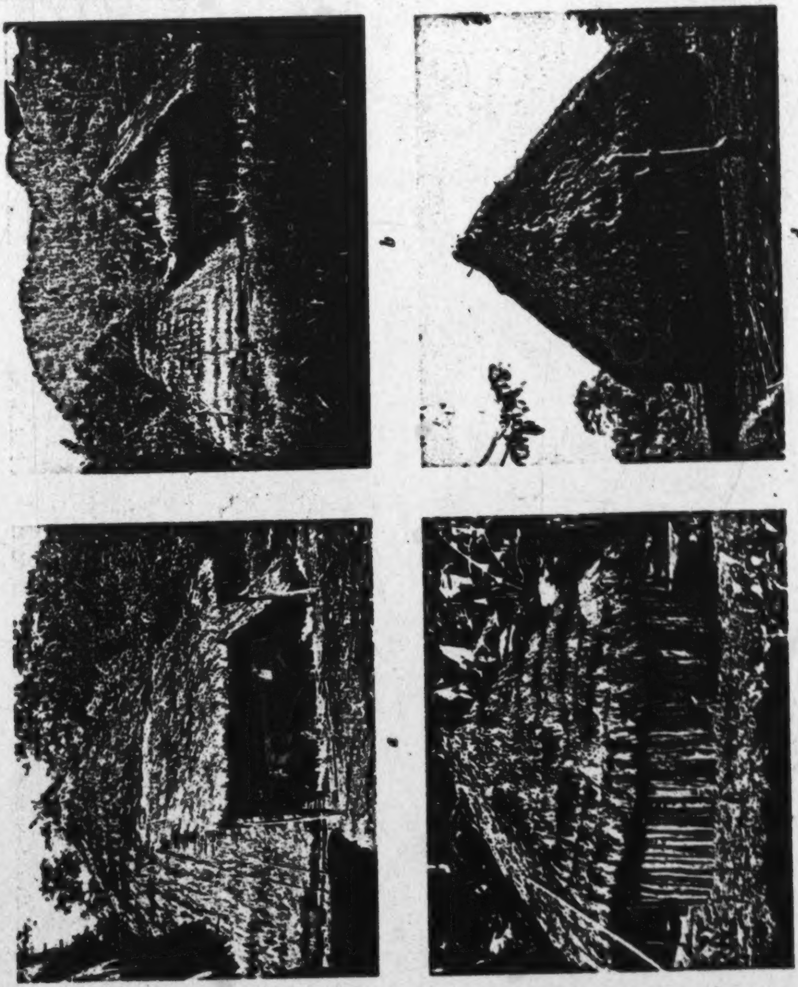

a. Bribri round house, lower Talamanca. Note vessel on roof peak.
b. Bribri round house with "modern" annex, Alta Talamanca.
c. Cabécar round house, upper Coen. d. Bribri round house, Talamanca Plain.

[END PLATE 1]

Bribri
Cabecar

342
291
285

342
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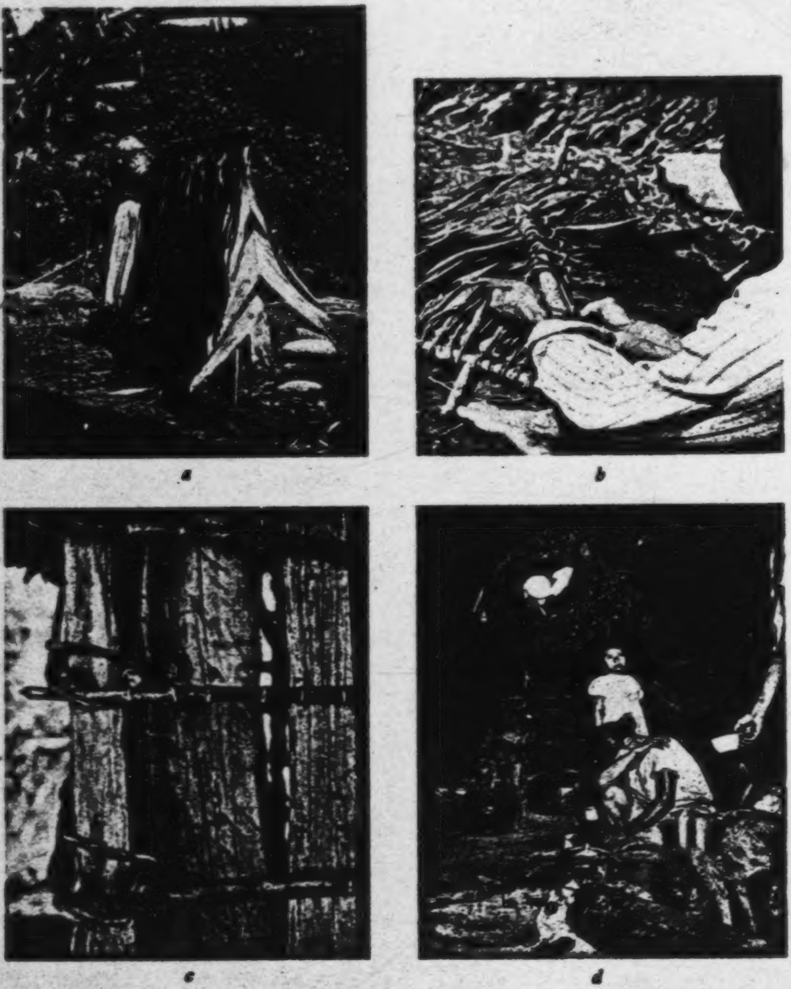
291
354
415
231



a-b, Preparing palm leaves for roofing, Talamanca. c, Detail of vine tying used in Bribri construction. d, One of four hearths within a Bribri house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 5]

Cabecar
Bribri

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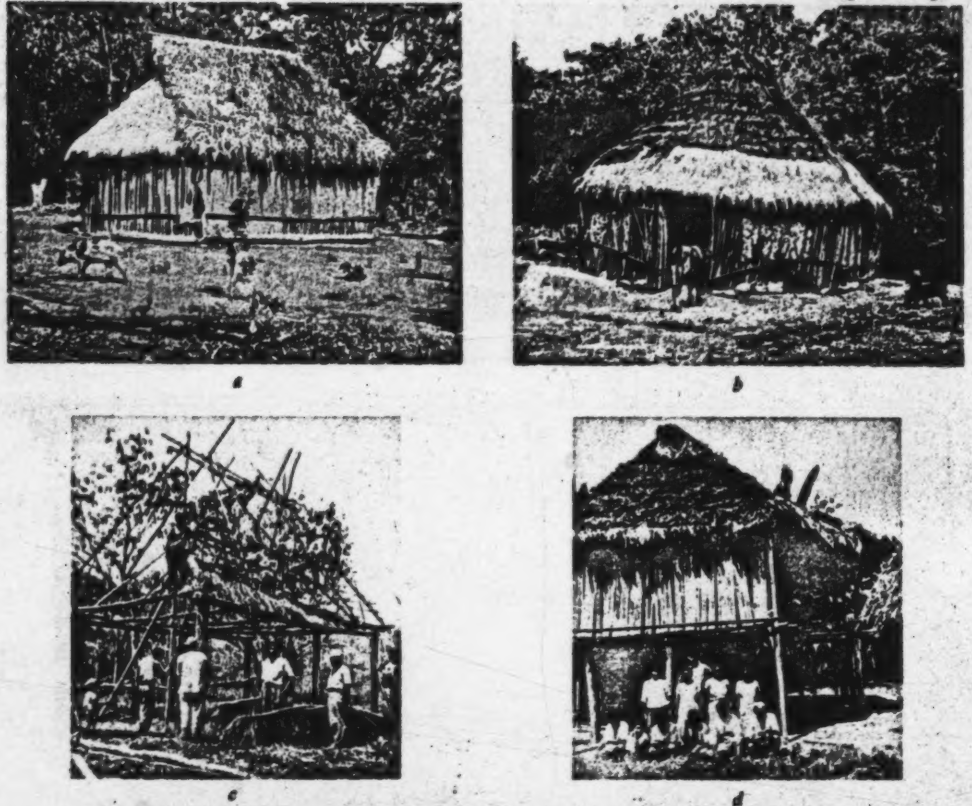
351
291
231

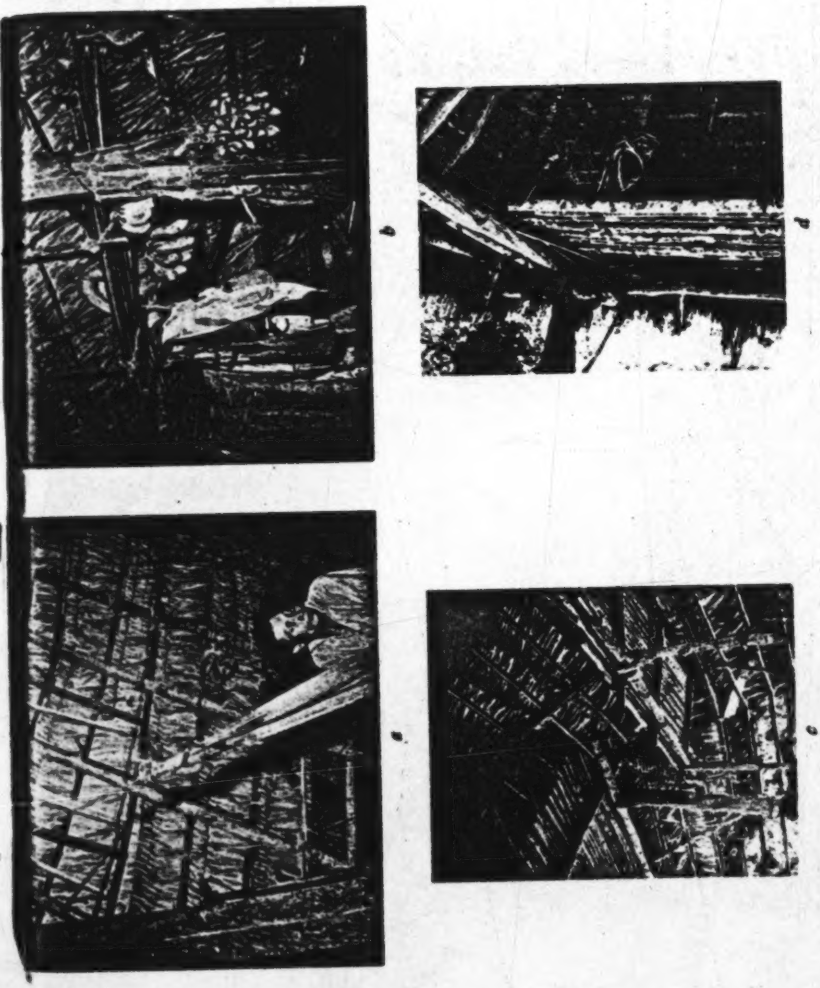


*a*, Cabécar combined rectangular and round house, Ujarrás. Note the grass and palm roofing. *b*, Cabécar round house, Ujarrás. *c*, Constructing a Bribri rectangular house, Cabaura. *d*, Bribri raised rectangular house,

[END PLATE 6]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar



a-c, Details of interior roof walls in a Bribri house, Talamanca. d, Detail of wall construction, Cabécar house, Ujarrás.

[END PLATE 7]

Bribri
Cabécar

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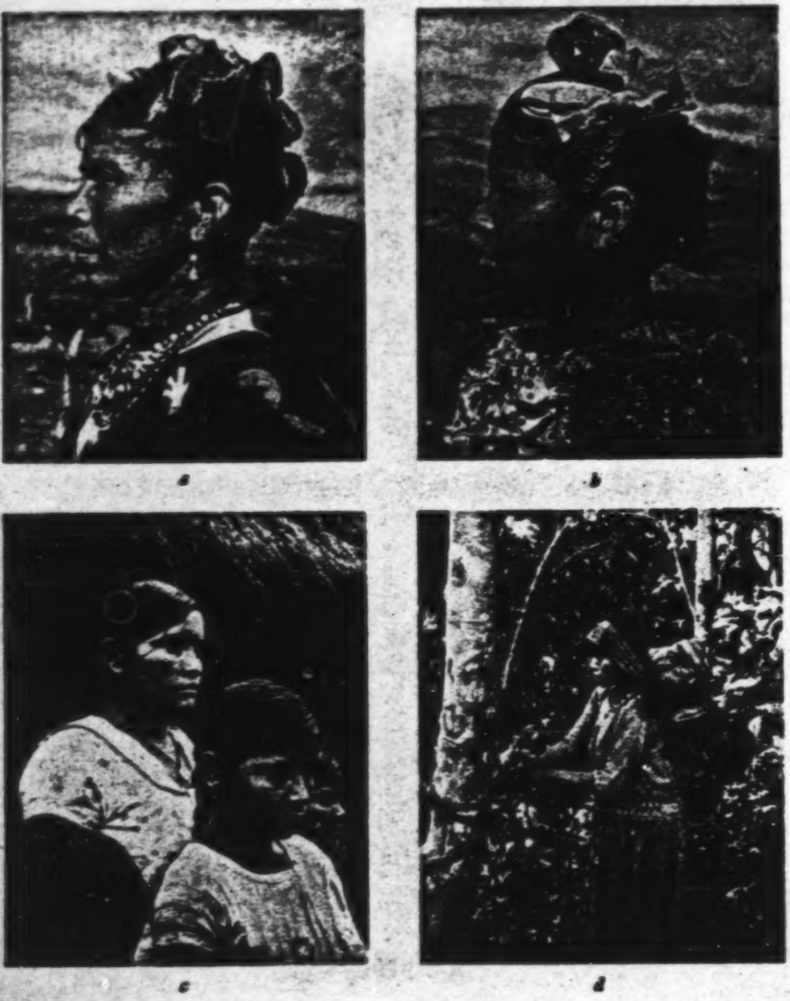
301
302
[531]

[854]



a-b, Bribri women, Pacific slope. c, Cabécar women, lower Talamanca. d, Cabécar woman carrying baby, Chiriquí.

[END PLATE 8]

Bribri
Cabécar

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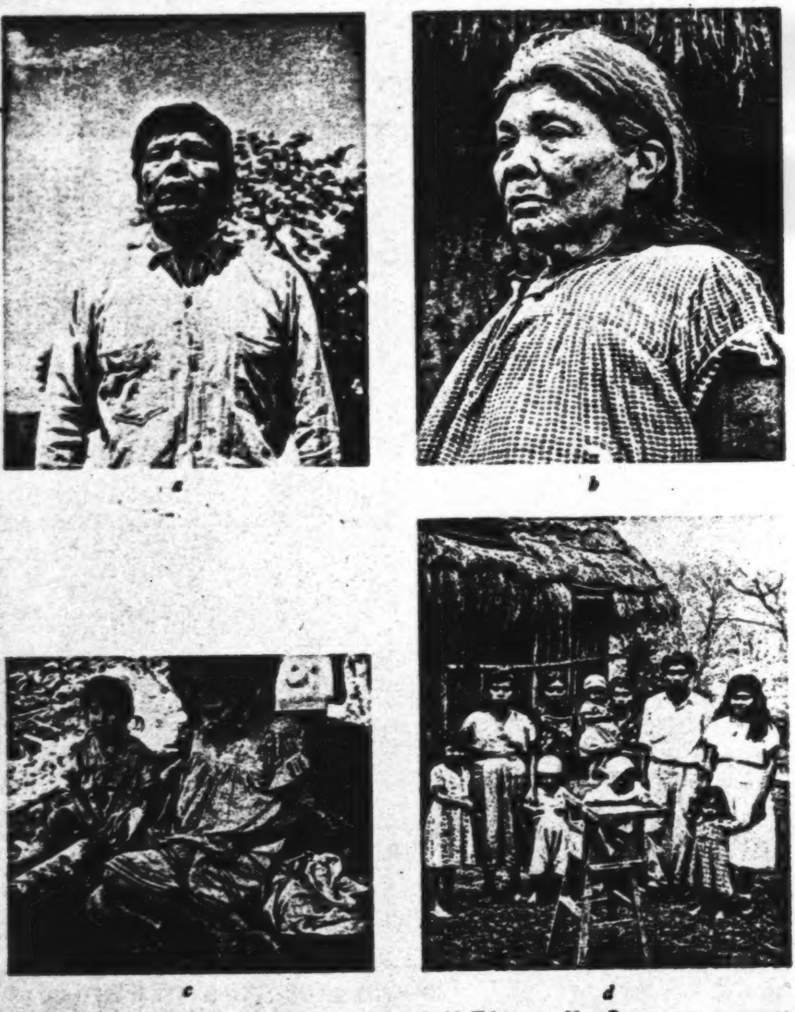
291
302

[516]
301
[854]



*a*, Bribri man. *b*, Bribri woman. *c*, Cabécar woman and girl, Talamanca. Note Boruca manta on woman. *d*, Bribri family, Pacific slope.

[END PLATE 9]

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764

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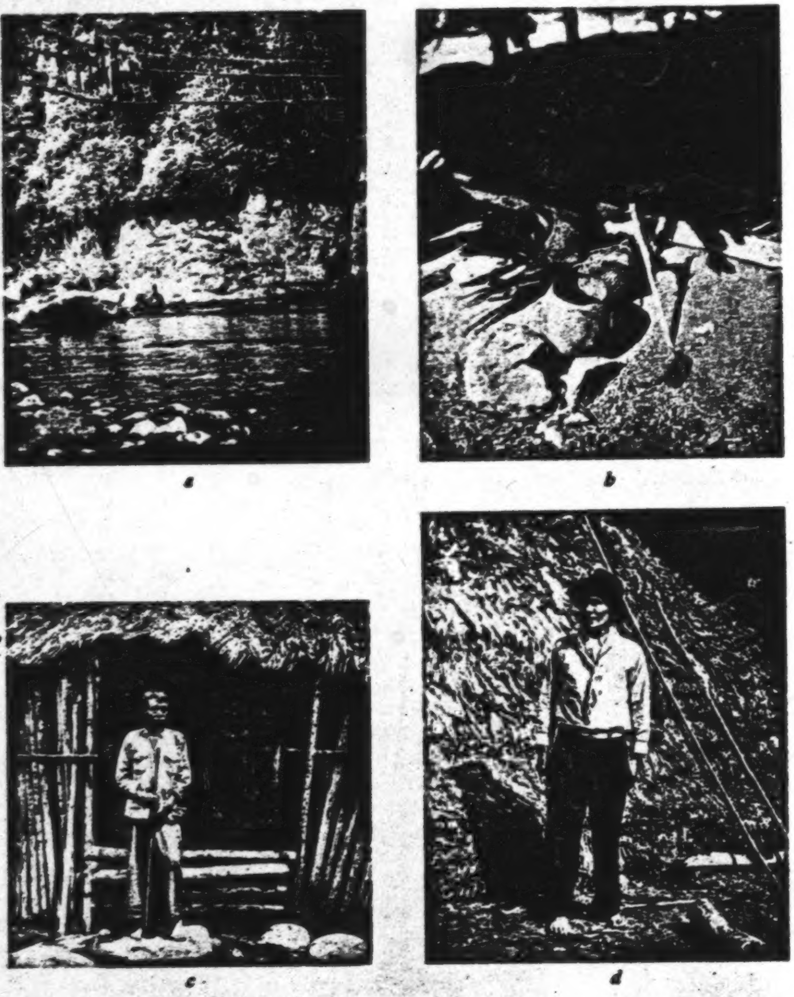
778



*a*, Vine bridge, Alta Talamanca (photograph courtesy of Gonzalo Martinez). *b*, Articles to accompany the dead at first burial, Cabécar, Alto Coen. *c*, Cabécar medicine man with staff, Talamanca. *d*, Bribri medicine man, Talamanca.

[END PIATE 10]

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

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756
778
[172]

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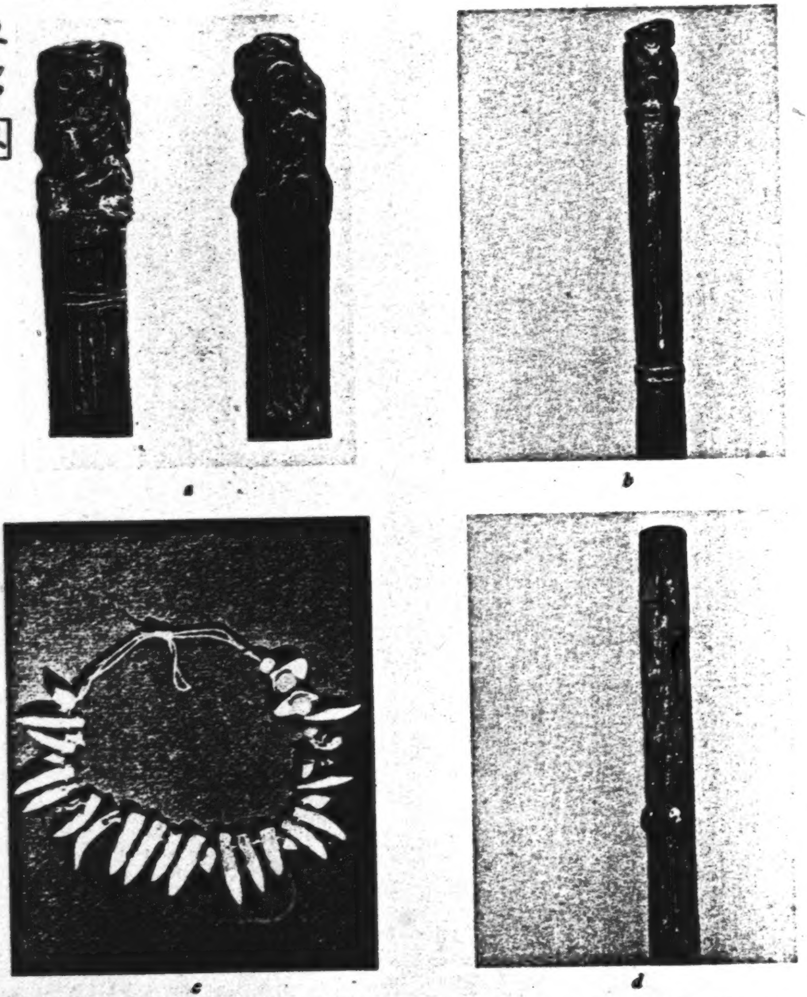
789
411



*a*, Ceremonial staff from cache on slopes of Irazú volcano, Central Plateau. *b*, Ceremonial staff from Talamanca, late 19th century (property of Don Otón Jiménez L.). *c*, Cabécar necklace of jaguar teeth, shells, bone, and beads to ward off evil (property of Don Julio Callejas T.). *d*, Part of Cabécar blow gun with beetle sights.

[END PIATE 11]

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291

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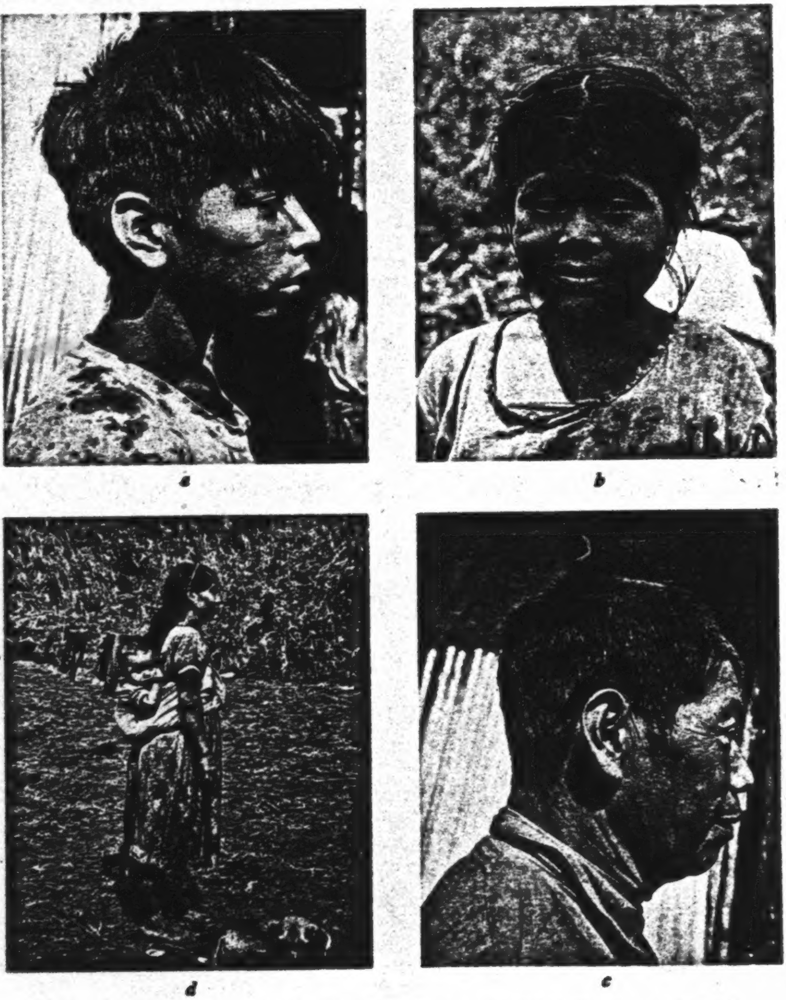

*a*, Bribri boy. *b*, Bribri girl. *c*, Bribri mother and child, Pacific side. *d*, Bribri men.

[END PLATE 12]

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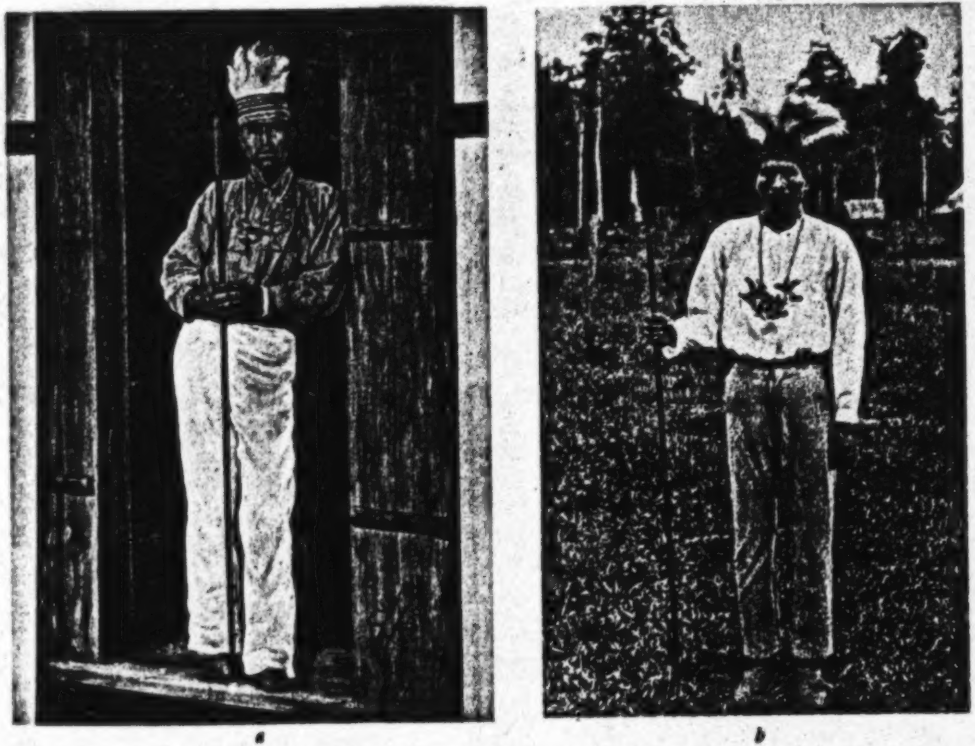

*a*, Oil painting of Antonio Saldaña, last King of Talamanca (courtesy of the National Museum of Costa Rica).
*b*, Photograph of Antonio Saldaña (*from* Fernández Guardia, 1913).

[END PLATE 13]

Bribri

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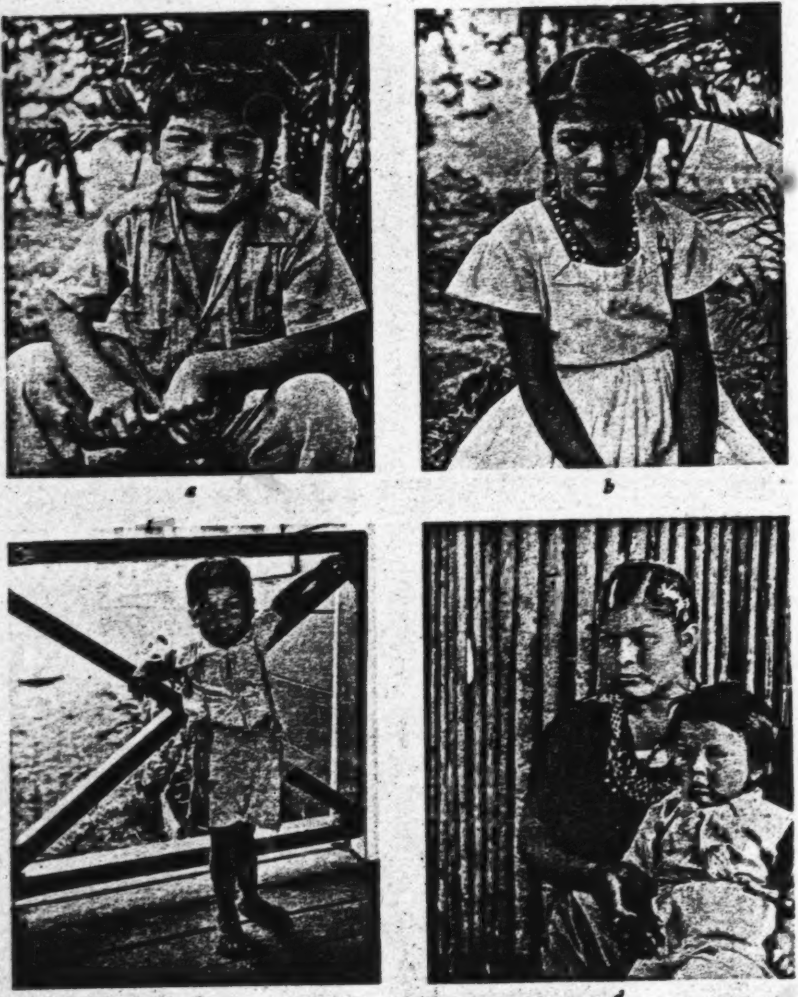

Bribri children from the Pacific slope at the school in Salitre. (Photographs courtesy of Ing. José Fabio Góngora.)

[END PLATE 14]

6: Stone Talamanca SA19

539

[For the native text of myths and songs, see category 116, pp. 52 (B)-68 (B), 71A-95.]